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MEMOIRS

OF THE

KINGS OF GREAT BRITAIN

OF THE HOUSE OF

BRUNSWIC-LUNENBURG.

BY W. BELSHAM.

VOL. I. AND II.

THIRD EDITION.

Ac mihi quidem videntur huc omnia esse referenda ab iis qui præsunt aliis, ut ii qui eorum in imperio erunt, sint quàm beatissimi. CICERO.

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INTRODUCTION.

AT the æra of the Revolution, the grand fabric of liberty, which it had been the labor of ages to erect in this iſland, was at length completed; and in one of the principal nations of the earth, a ſyſtem of government was by general aſſent eſtabliſhed, which had for its baſis the unalienable rights of man, and profeſſing as its grand end and object, the happineſs of the people. The deſign of the following Memoirs is to ſhew, by an impartial delineation of the intereſting events of the ſucceeding reigns, how far this end has been kept in view, how far it has been deviated from, and in what reſpects the general ſyſtem of freedom is ſtill ſuſceptible of enlargement and ſecurity. In conſequence of the happy emancipation of theſe realms, by the expulſion of a wretched and mercileſs bigot, we were neceſſarily involved in a war with France, then in the zenith of proſperity, and governed by a monarch of the moſt aſpiring ambition, ſupported by a degree of power truly formidable. After a long and bloody conflict, however, France was compelled to relinquiſh her projects in favor

of the abdicated Houſe of Stuart; and to acknowledge, by a formal and ſolemn treaty, WILLIAM prince of Orange as king of Great Britain. From this period, a new ſcene opens to our view; and England, confirmed and eſtabliſhed in the poſſeſſion of her own liberty, appears in the high and exalted character of the defender of the liberties of Europe. And it is chiefly through the efforts of this country, in which the ſacred flame of freedom was happily preſerved, that Europe was able to withſtand, and at length effectually to baffle and defeat, the vaſt hopes and projects of LOUIS XIV. who ſeemed to extend his views to no leſs than univerſal dominion. Scarcely was the treaty of Ryſwick ſigned *, when intrigues and negociations were revived and proſecuted by all the European courts, with unintermitted and almoſt unprecedented ardor and activity. The declining health of the king of Spain was the cauſe of this mighty internal agitation; at whoſe deceaſe it became a matter of great and anxious doubt, upon whom the ſucceſſion of that vaſt monarchy would devolve. The two moſt potent claimants were the emperor Leopold as head and heir-general of the Houſe of Auſtria, and the dauphin of France, who was deſcended from Iſabella eldeſt daughter of Philip IV. whoſe marriage, however, was accompanied by a formal renunciation of her eventual pretenſions to the Spaniſh crown, which would otherwiſe, according to the rules of ſucceſſion eſtabliſhed in Spain, have indubitably ſuperſeded all other claims. The grand object of the ambition, both of the king and kingdom of Spain, was to ſecure, and to which of all the different claimants was apparently a very ſubordinate conſideration, the entire and undivided devolution of the

* A. D. 1697.

Spaniſh

Spaniſh monarchy; which included not only Spain and the Indies, but the two Sicilies, Milan, Sardinia, and the Low Countries; and which had long been in a ſtate of extreme political debility, bending, as it were, beneath the preſſure of its own enormous weight.

King William, however, who had no other end in view than to maintain the balance of power, and to preſerve the general tranquillity of Europe, paid little attention to national prejudices originating in pride and folly, or even, as it muſt be acknowledged, to national rights and privileges, in the meaſures which he ſcrupled not to adopt, for the accompliſhment of purpoſes ſo deſirable and important. He concluded, therefore, with Louis, a ſecret treaty of partition, by which, at the deceaſe of the king of Spain, the two Sicilies, and all the poſſeſſions of Spain eaſtward of the Pyrenées, were to be for ever united to the French monarchy; the Duchy of Milan was allotted to the emperor; and it was agreed, that the kingdom of Spain, and its remaining appendages, ſhould revert to the electoral prince of Bavaria, who was deſcended from the ſecond daughter of Philip IV. father of the reigning monarch. This plan, however, being rendered abortive by the death of the young prince, another treaty was concerted without the knowledge or participation of the court of Madrid, by which, in addition to her former allotment, France obtained the important Duchies of Lorraine and Bar, the Duchy of Milan being ceded to the duke of Lorraine by way of equivalent; and the arch-duke Charles II. ſon to the emperor was ſubſtituted as heir to the monarchy of Spain, in the room of the electoral prince. The king of Spain, from whom this treaty could not long remain concealed, exaſperated at the conduct of king William, and ſoftened by the attentive and adulatory court paid to him by Louis, who dexterouſly contrived to throw

the whole odium of this tranſaction upon the king of England, was at length prevailed upon, notwithſtanding his former predilection for the emperor, to make a will, by which he nominated as his ſole heir the duke of Anjou, ſecond ſon to the dauphin; who, ſupported by the power of France, would, as the Catholic king was inceſſantly and flatteringly told, be able to prevent what he ſo much dreaded, the diſmemberment of the Spaniſh monarchy.

The death of that monarch taking place after a ſhort interval, the Court of Verſailles declared its determination of accepting the will, notwithſtanding the formal renunciation of the infanta Iſabella, and the actual exiſtence of the treaty of partition; alleging, "that as the object of that treaty was the preſervation of the general tranquillity, and that object could not, in preſent circumſtances, be obtained by a ſtrict adherence to this engagement, a departure from the letter of the treaty was clearly juſtifiable, if it aroſe ſolely from a deſire of acting in more perfect conformity to the ſpirit of it."

At the meeting of parliament, in which the tory intereſt now predominated, the partition treaty was reprobated without any reſerve, as a meaſure unjuſt in its origin, and diſgraceful in its iſſue. It was ſtyled, in the vehemence of debate, "a felonious treaty;" and ſo high did the reſentment and indignation of the commons ariſe, that the lords Somers, Halifax, Orford, and Portland were actually impeached at the bar of the houſe of Peers, as the principal adviſers and promoters of this treaty, which was in reality the ſole project of the king himſelf, whoſe conduct on this occaſion, notwithſtanding the rectitude of his motives, muſt be acknowledged not eaſily reconcilable to the dictates either of juſtice or policy.

The

The nation in general, however, entertained the moſt alarming apprehenſions at this vaſt and unexpected addition to the power of the houſe of Bourbon; and their fears and jealouſies were kindled into rage by the impolitic conduct of Louis, who, on the death of king James, which happened about this time, formally recognized the pretended prince of Wales as true and lawful ſovereign of Great Britain. The king, encouraged by the prevailing diſpoſition of the nation, entered into an alliance with the emperor and the united provinces, in which all kings, princes and ſtates were invited to join, in order to obtain ſatisfaction for the houſe of Auſtria, and ample and permanent ſecurity for the preſervation of the common liberties of Europe. The parliament being diſſolved, another was ſummoned to meet in December 1701, in which the Whigs again recovered their aſcendency; and the royal ſpeech at the opening of the ſeſſion, recommending, in very animated and energetic language, unanimity in the proſecution of the moſt vigorous and deciſive meaſures, was received with enthuſiaſtic and unbounded applauſe. "I promiſe myſelf," ſaid the king, "you are met together full of that juſt ſenſe of the common danger of Europe, and that reſentment of the late proceedings of the French king, which has been ſo fully and univerſally expreſſed in the loyal and ſeaſonable addreſſes of my people. The eyes of all Europe are upon this parliament. All matters are at a ſtand, till your reſolutions are known. Let me conjure you to diſappoint the only hopes of our enemies by your unanimity. I have ſhewn, and will always ſhew, how deſirous I am to be the common father of all my people. Do you, in like manner, lay aſide parties and diviſions. Let there be no other diſtinction heard of among us for the future, but of thoſe who are for the proteſtant religion and the preſent eſtabliſhment, and of thoſe who mean

mean a popiſh prince and a French government.—If you do in good earneſt deſire to ſee England hold the balance of Europe, and to be indeed at the head of the proteſtant intereſt, it will appear by your right improving the preſent opportunity." The king, the parliament, and the nation ſeemed now animated with the ſame ſpirit, and in no period of his reign had William attained to ſo great a height of popularity as at the preſent criſis; and all Europe, fixing their attention upon this monarch, and regarding him with grateful and affectionate veneration, as the great aſſertor of its liberties—as the head, heart, and hand of the confederacy—was eager with the expectation of ſeeing him once more in the field, leading on to battle the armies of that grand alliance, originally projected by him, and now revived with freſh ſpirit and vigour; and which, in the preſent exhauſted ſtate of France, it was preſumed, could ſcarcely fail to be attended with the moſt ſignal and glorious ſucceſs. The king, however, perceived his health and ſtrength rapidly declining; and he declared to the earl of Portland, that he ſhould not live to ſee another ſummer. On the 21ſt of February, in riding to Hampton-court from Kenſington, his horſe fell under him, and his collar-bone was fractured by the violence of the ſhock. Though no immediate ſymptoms of danger appeared, this accident haſtened his diſſolution, which took place *March* 8, 1702, in the 52d year of his age. The recital of the actions of this monarch forms his beſt and higheſt eulogium. His character was diſtinguiſhed by virtues rarely found amongſt princes—moderation, integrity, ſimplicity, beneficence, magnanimity. Time, which has caſt a veil over his imperfections, has added luſtre to his many great and admirable qualities. His political views were in the higheſt degree laudable and upright. He had true ideas

of

of the nature and ends of government: and the beneficial effects of his noble and heroic exertions will probably defcend to the lateft generations; rendering his name juftly dear to the friends of civil and religious liberty, and his memory ever glorious and immortal.

Never did the death of any monarch, that of Guftavus Adolphus in the midft of his career of victories againft the houfe of Auftria perhaps excepted, excite throughout the kingdoms of Europe more general grief and conftternation than that of king WILLIAM. Though the grand alliance againft France was now completed, the different powers, of which this vaft body was compofed, deprived by this unexpected ftroke of the hero in whofe wifdom and rectitude they confided, and under whofe banners they had been accuftomed to engage, no longer exhibited any fymptoms of animation or vigor. Such was the prevailing dread of the power of France, which from the commencement of the adminiftration of Cardinal Richelieu had been elevated to the prefent alarming height by an almoft uninterrupted feries of military triumphs, that the alliance now formed was confidered as by no means adequate to the accompliftment of its object in cafe of the defection of England; and how far Anne of Denmark, who now fwayed the fceptre of that powerful kingdom, was difpofed to adopt the counfels or to purfue the mighty projects formed by her illuftrious predeceffor, was confidered as a queftion highly problematical. The doubt, however, was quickly refolved; for the queen, who was laudably ambitious of popularity, finding the nation and parliament ftrongly inclined to war, and influenced by the repreftentations of the earls of Marlborough and Godolphin, who demonftrated the imminent danger to which the liberties of Europe would be expofed, were England to act with indifference or indecifion in the prefent crifis, declared her

her reſolution to fulfil, in their utmoſt extent, all the political engagements of the late king. To give efficacy to this reſolution, the earl of Godolphin was placed at the head of the treaſury, and the earl of Marlborough advanced to the rank of captain general of all her majeſty's forces, to the extreme ſatisfaction of the allies, who had, from his paſt ſervices, already formed very high ideas of his military talents. This nobleman was alſo inveſted with the character of ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary from her majeſty; and ſent into Holland, in order to concert meaſures with the ſtates, and to aſſure them, as well as the other powers of the alliance, whoſe ambaſſadors were aſſembled at the Hague, of the queen's favorable ſentiments and zealous attachment to the common cauſe and intereſt. In purſuance of the ſpirited exertions of this able negociator, war was declared againſt France on the very ſame day at Vienna, London, and the Hague, to the ſurpriſe and chagrin of the court of Verſailles, which had entertained the flattering hope that the projects of the allies would be entirely diſconcerted by the death of the king of England, and had received the intelligence of that event with the moſt indecent marks of exultation. The war commenced with the ſieges of Keiſerſwart and Landau, both which fortreſſes ſurrendered to the arms of the allies, after a very long and vigorous reſiſtance. The earl of Marlborough arriving at the camp in June, immediately took upon him the command of the allied army; the earl of Athlone, who had pretenſions in quality of Veldt-Mareſchal of the Dutch forces to divide the command, and whoſe military fame was not inconſiderable, being obliged by the ſtates to relinquiſh his claim. The French army under Marechal Boufflers, precipitately retiring before the allies, the earl of Marlborough ſucceſſively inveſted and captured the towns of Venlo, Ruremond,

mond, Stevenſwart, and Liege; and, by the judgment and ſkill with which he conducted all his meaſures, confirmed the confidence of the public, and fully eſtabliſhed his reputation as an able and enterpriſing general. Very ſplendid ſucceſs alſo attended the naval operations of the preſent ſummer: for though the duke of Ormond and Sir George Rooke failed in their attempt on Cadiz, they received intelligence, on their return to England, that the Spaniſh flota had put into the port of Vigo; and, attacking that place with reſiſtleſs intrepidity, broke the immenſe boom which extended acroſs the entrance of the harbor, reduced the forts by which it was defended, and deſtroyed or captured the whole fleet of men of war and galleons which had retreated thither for ſecurity.

When the new parliament met, an addreſs was preſented to the queen by the commons, congratulating the ſucceſs of her majeſty's arms, which had, as they choſe to expreſs it, ſignally *retrieved* the ancient honor and glory of the Engliſh nation. This was univerſally underſtood as an oblique reflection upon the memory of the late king; and it ſtrongly indicated the predominance of the Tories, who were now the favored and governing party. Of this, however, a much more important and deciſive proof was afforded, by the introduction of a bill againſt occaſional conformity—a practice by which the church was declared to be expoſed to the moſt imminent danger. This bill, which was carried through the houſe of commons by a prodigious majority, was, after long and vehement debate, thrown out by the lords.

Early in the ſpring, A. D. 1703, the earl, now duke of Marlborough, paſſed the ſea, and, at the head of the allies, opened the campaign with the ſiege of Bonne; after

ter the reduction of which, he marched towards the French army commanded by Marechal Villeroy, with an intention to give them battle: but at his approach, that general thought proper to retire within his lines, after setting fire to his camp; and the duke was obliged to satisfy himself with the conquest of the towns of Huy, Limburg, and Gueldres. In the course of this year, the king of Prussia and duke of Savoy joined the grand alliance; and the arch-duke Charles, second son to the emperor, who now assumed the title of king of Spain, was convoyed to Lisbon by an English squadron, as the claimant of a kingdom in which he did not as yet possess a single foot of land.

In the ensuing session of parliament, the occasional conformity bill was again revived by the high-church faction; the most violent partisans of which attempted, though in vain, to secure the success of it by annexing it as a tack to the land-tax bill. This was absolutely discountenanced by the ministers of the crown, and the bill itself but faintly supported by the court party, the great leaders of which, Godolphin and Marlborough, now began, from political motives, to connect themselves with the Whigs: and though the bill passed by a majority of fifty voices, it was again rejected by the lords, who would not even deign to give it a second reading. This parliament is distinguished in the English annals by the perpetual misunderstandings which prevailed between the two houses; and this winter a very remarkable dispute arose, which originated in an accidental and apparently inconsiderable cause. The shameless and scandalous manner in which the commons were wont to decide upon all petitions relative to contested elections in favor of the predominant party, was at this time perhaps more than usually notorious: and the returning officers, who happened to be in that interest, were emboldened

boldened by it to exercise the grossest partiality in admitting or rejecting votes, knowing it might be done with perfect ease and impunity. At the last general election, however, the vote of one Ashby, an inhabitant of the borough of Aylesbury, being rejected by White the returning officer, he had the spirit and resolution to commence an action at common law against White for illegally depriving him of his franchise; and obtained a verdict for damages, at the ensuing assizes for the county of Bucks. The court of queen's bench, however, being moved to quash all proceedings in this matter, as contrary to the privileges of the house of commons, the three puisne judges were of opinion, that the verdict could not be sustained. But that great and upright magistrate, lord chief justice Holt, at this time presiding in the court, declared in the most decisive terms, "that the verdict in question was both legal and just;—that though the house of commons possessed a separate and independent jurisdiction, agreeably to the constitution of parliament, so far as to determine, in case of appeal, which of the different candidates were duly elected; yet that their authority did not supersede the common course of judicial proceedings in the courts sitting at Westminster, which founded their decisions on the known laws of the land, and the evidence which came regularly and properly before them; and which neither could nor would take cognizance of the proceedings of the house of commons, nor of the grounds of their proceedings. Where a legal right existed, and such, said this able magistrate, is the franchise of an elector; the law, of which the courts of justice are the sole dispensers, will protect him in the enjoyment of that right.—That the house of commons were not competent to decide judicially, though they might be occasionally compelled to exercise their discretion, in cases of this nature, evidently

ly appeared from their utter inability to grant redreſs, whatever might be the magnitude of the injury ſuſtained: that if this exorbitant claim were once eſtabliſhed, the ſubject might be deprived of his deareſt rights, by the mere arbitrary will and pleaſure of the houſe of commons—the moſt flagrant abuſes of power might be committed with impunity, nay with applauſe and triumph, by men holding public offices, who were thus placed beyond the reach of the arm of public juſtice; and by a monſtrous ſolecism in legiſlation and juriſprudence, an acknowledged and invaluable right might be groſsly and openly violated, and the injured party remain wholly deſtitute of any legal or regular means of reparation or redreſs." The verdict, notwithſtanding theſe cogent reaſonings, was however reverſed; but the cauſe was, by writ of error, immediately brought before the houſe of lords; who after requiring the opinions of the twelve judges, and debating the matter at great length, and with great ability, determined almoſt unanimouſly to ſuperſede the judgment pronounced in the queen's bench, and to affirm the verdict originally given at the county aſſizes. The houſe of commons, enraged at theſe proceedings, declared by a vote of the houſe, "that Matthew Aſhby having, in contempt of the juriſdiction of that houſe, commenced and proſecuted an action at common law againſt William White for not receiving his vote at an election for burgeſſes to ſerve in parliament for the borough of Ayleſbury, was guilty of a high breach of the privileges of that houſe; and that all attornies, ſolicitors, counſellors, and ſergeants at law, ſoliciting, proſecuting, or pleading in any ſuch cauſe, were guilty of a high breach of the privileges of that houſe." And they ordered theſe reſolutions, ſigned by the clerk of the houſe, to be affixed to Weſtminſter Hall gate. So far, however, was the intrepid magiſtrate at the head of the law

law from being intimidated by this imperious language, that he is ſaid publicly to have declared, that if any meſſenger of the houſe of commons preſumed to enter that hall, in order to ſeize the perſon of any attorney or pleader by virtue of his warrant, he would immediately commit him to Newgate. The houſe of lords, on their part, paſſed votes juſtificatory of their own conduct; copies of which were tranſmitted to all ſheriffs and borough-reeves throughout the kingdom. The commons, finding the general voice of the people declare ſtrongly in favor of their antagoniſts, ſeemed diſpoſed to let it reſt in its preſent ſtate, and the judgment of the lords was duly and regularly executed; upon which, five other inhabitants of the borough of Ayleſbury brought their ſeveral actions for damages, upon the ſame grounds. This threw the houſe of commons into a new ferment; and by their own authority they committed theſe five men to priſon, where they lay three months, without however offering to make any ſubmiſſion. After the money bills were paſſed by the commons, and not till then, a motion being made in the queen's bench in behalf of the priſoners, for a *habeas corpus*; the three puiſne judges declared themſelves of opinion, as before, that the court could take no cognizance of the matter. But the chief juſtice, a man inflexible to ill, and obſtinately juſt, maintained, that a general warrant of commitment for breach of privilege was of the nature of an execution: and as it appeared upon the face of the warrant itſelf, that the priſoners had been guilty of no legal offence, unleſs to claim the benefit of the law in oppoſition to a vote of the houſe of commons was ſuch, it was his opinion that they ought inſtantly to be diſcharged. This opinion however not availing in oppoſition to that of the majority of the bench, the priſoners were remanded; in conſequence of which, they moved for a writ of error, to bring the matter

matter before the Lords. As this, agreeably to the forms of law, could only be obtained by a petition to the crown, the commons prefented an addrefs to the queen, humbly requefting her majefty that the writ of error might not be granted; and they alfo took upon them to affirm, that, in this cafe, no writ of error could lie. To this addrefs the queen with great moderation and prudence replied, that fhe hoped never to give her faithful commons any juft ground of complaint; but to obftruct the courfe of judicial proceedings was a matter of fuch high importance, that fhe thought it neceffary to weigh and confider carefully what it might be proper for her to do. The commons received this anfwer in fullen filence; and immediately ordered the prifoners to be removed from Newgate into the cuftody of their fergeant at arms, left they fhould be difcharged in confequence of the queen's granting a writ of error. They likewife refolved, that the lawyers who had pleaded on behalf of the prifoners, on the return of the *habeas corpus*, were guilty of a breach of privilege; and ordered them to be taken into cuftody. The lords upon this voted, "that, for fubjects to claim their juft rights in a courfe of law, was no breach of privilege—that the impriſonment of the men of Aylefbury was contrary to law—and that the writ of error could not be refufed, without a violation of MAGNA CHARTA." This was followed by an addrefs to the queen, humbly befeeching her majefty to give immediate orders for iffuing the writ of error. The judges, moreover, now happily recovering from their terrors, ventured to decide, that a petition for a writ of error was a petition of right, and not of grace. And the queen was pleafed, in the moft condefcending terms, to reply to this addrefs, "that fhe would certainly have complied with their lordfhips' requeft in regard to the writ of error, but that, as it now became neceffary to put an end to the

feffion,

ſeſſion, ſhe knew it could produce no effect." The lords, conſidering this as a decided victory, immediately returned their humble thanks to her majeſty, for this inſtance of her majeſty's regard for the legal and impartial adminiſtration of public juſtice. The queen, that very day, March 14, put an end to the ſeſſion; and on the 5th of April 1705 the parliament was diſſolved by proclamation. "It was no ſmall bleſſing," ſays biſhop Burnet, with his accuſtomed ſolemnity, "to the queen, and to the nation, that they got well out of ſuch hands." And it muſt indeed be acknowledged, that the violence and malignity manifeſted in their general conduct, were productive of much leſs evil than might reaſonably be apprehended.

As, in order to exhibit a connected view of this memorable controverſy, the order of events has been ſomewhat anticipated; it is now neceſſary to advert to various preceding tranſactions of great moment and importance. Though it muſt be allowed that nothing can be more unintereſting or uninſtructive, in general, than the detail of military operations; yet, as the campaign of the year 1704 is one of the moſt remarkable in modern hiſtory, and diſplays the unrivalled talents of the duke of Marlborough in the moſt brilliant and ſtriking point of view, it cannot but excite ſuch emotions of curioſity as demand more than ordinary attention. In the month of January, count Wrattiſlau, the imperial ambaſſador, preſented a memorial to the Britiſh court, in which he repreſented the alarming and dangerous ſituation to which the emperor and the empire were reduced, in conſequence of the rapid ſucceſs of the French arms in Germany, and the defection of the Elector of Bavaria, who had entered into a ſtrict confederacy with France; had joined the armies of that monarchy with all his forces; had ſeized the cities of Augſburg, Ulm, and Paſſau, and threatened

to

to attack even the imperial capital of Vienna itſelf. The emperor, therefore, implored the aid and protection of the queen and people of ENGLAND to ſave the ROMAN EMPIRE from impending ruin. This application, ſo glorious to the Engliſh nation, was not made in vain. The duke of Marlborough received orders from the queen, to concert with the ſtates the moſt eligible means of accompliſhing this great object. On his arrival at the Hague, he repreſented to their high mightineſſes the neceſſity of making a powerful effort for the relief of the empire; and propoſed that, as the frontiers of Holland were now perfectly ſecure, he ſhould be permitted to march with the grand confederate army to the banks of the Moſelle, there to fix the ſeat of the war. And as the French court would, in conſequence of this diverſion, be led to entertain ſerious apprehenſions for the ſafety of their own territories, they would be compelled to deſiſt from any farther proſecution of their vaſt and ambitious projects in Germany. Under this veil did that great commander conceal his real deſign, which he communicated only to the penſionary Heinſius, and two or three other leading perſons, whoſe influence might obtain a ſanction to the meaſure whenever a public avowal of it ſhould be deemed neceſſary. The conſent of the States being with ſome difficulty procured, and the campaign at length opened, the propoſed march to the Moſelle accordingly took place. Marechal Tallard, who commanded the French army, apprehending Traerbach to be in danger, and that the duke's intentions were to penetrate into France on that ſide, took ſteps to obſtruct his Grace's farther progreſs to to the eaſt. To the amazement, however, not only of the French general, to whom the Duke's movements were wholly incomprehenſible, but to all Europe, whoſe attention was now fixed on this intereſting ſcene, the allied army paſſed the Rhine May 26,

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and, in a few days after, the Maine and the Neckar. On his arrival at Ladenburg, June 3, the Duke thought proper to throw off the maſque; and he wrote from thence a letter to the States, acquainting their High Mightineſſes, that he had received orders from his ſovereign the Queen of England, to adopt the moſt vigorous meaſure to deliver the Empire from the oppreſſion of France—that, for this purpoſe, he wasproceeding on his march to the Danube, and he hoped their High Mightineſſes would not heſitate to allow their troops to ſhare in the glory of this enterpriſe. The States, finding it impracticable to recede, thought it adviſable to comply with a good grace, and immediately diſpatched a courier to inform the duke that his deſign met with their unanimous approbation—that they entruſted their troops entirely to his diſpoſal, placing the moſt perfect reliance on his Grace's ſkill, experience and diſcretion. This difficulty being thus happily ſurmounted, the duke proceeded on his expedition; and at Mildenheim he had an interview with prince Eugene, in which theſe two conſummate generals agreed upon their future plan of operations. The prince expreſſing his admiration of the fine appearance of the troops after ſo long and fatiguing a march, and particularly of the uncommon ſpirit apparent in their countenances, the duke of Marlborough politely replied, that this might be eaſily accounted for, by the animation which the preſence of his highneſs could never fail to excite. On the firſt of July, the duke, being previouſly joined by the imperial army, came in ſight of the lines of Schellenburg, in which the flower of the Bavarian troops lay ſtrongly entrenched, near the town of Donavert, ſituated on the banks of the Danube. Early the next morning, his grace reſolved upon the attack; and after a very gallant reſiſtance the lines were forced with great ſlaughter, and Donavert immediately ſurrendered at diſcretion. But this

ſucceſs, though brilliant, was loſt in the ſplendor of the ſubſequent victory. The elector of Bavaria obſtinately refuſing to liſten to terms of accommodation, and being at length joined by marechal Tallard, who had with great danger and difficulty traverſed the immenſe foreſts of Suabia with a view to his relief; it was reſolved by the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene, Auguſt 13, to engage the combined army of French and Bavarians, then poſted near the village of BLEINHEIM, a name ever memorable in the annals of Britiſh and Gallic hiſtory. The enemy were very advantageouſly encamped on a riſing ground. Their right flank was covered by the Danube, and the village of Bleinheim, into which the marechal had thrown a great body of his beſt troops: their left wing, commanded by marechal Marſin, and the elector in perſon, was protected by the village of Lutzingen and the adjoining woods; and they had in front of the camp a rivulet, whoſe banks were ſteep, and the bottom marſhy. It being determined that the duke of Marlborough ſhould command the attack againſt marechal Tallard; about noon, the left wing of the allied army paſſed the rivulet without moleſtation, and drew up in order of battle on the other ſide. So unaccountably ſupine were the French commanders on this occaſion, that they ſuffered even the ſecond line of cavalry to form, without deſcending from the heights, of which they were in poſſeſſion, into the meadows which occupied the interval between the camp and the rivulet. The allies now aſcending the hill in a firm compacted body, the enemy advanced with great ſpirit and reſolution, and a furious and bloody conteſt enſued. The French at length giving way on all ſides, marechal Tallard made an effort to gain the bridge thrown over the Danube between Bleinheim and Hochſted; but, being cloſely purſued, vaſt numbers were either killed or forced

ed into the river, and the marechal himſelf was made a priſoner. The troops incloſed in the village of Bleinheim, being now left deſtitute of ſupport, were obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. On the right, where prince Eugene commanded, though the ſucceſs was not ſo deciſive, the elector, and marechal Marſin, were compelled, after a ſevere conflict, to retreat in confuſion, and with very great loſs; and, upon the whole, this was one of the moſt complete and important victories ever gained. The French force in Germany was in effect annihilated. Excluſive of the prodigious carnage during the heat of the action, ſeventy entire ſquadrons and battalions were either captured at Bleinheim, or drowned in the Danube; and the ſhattered remains of their army, after the loſs of forty thouſand veteran troops, were utterly incapable of making head againſt the victors. This day entirely changed the aſpect of affairs in Europe. France was no longer formidable. After her long ſucceſſion of triumphs, ſhe now experienced a fatal and ſudden reverſe of fortune, by which ſhe was overwhelmed with amazement and conſternation. Nor has ſhe ever been able to regain that high aſcendency in the ſcale of power which ſhe poſſeſſed previouſly to that great event. The elector of Bavaria, at the head of a ſmall body of troops, effected a retreat, or rather made his eſcape, and joined marechal Villeroy in Flanders, leaving the electorate at the mercy of the conquerors, who, after reducing Ingoldſtadt, and the other fortreſſes of the duchy, glorioufly concluded the campaign with the ſieges of Landau, Triers, and Traerbach. And in the month of December the duke of Marlborough returned in triumph to England, where he was received with unbounded tranſports of joy. During the courſe of the preſent ſummer, admiral Sir George Rooke, by a very brilliant coup-de-main, ſurpriſed the fortreſs of Gibraltar, which, notwithſtanding

the repeated efforts of the Spaniards, ſtill remains in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh. It is, however, a moſt expenſive, invidious, and uſeleſs conqueſt; and while it is, by an ungenerous and pernicious policy, detained from the rightful owners, it is ſcarcely poſſible that a cordial and ſincere friendſhip can long ſubſiſt between the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Spain.

In April 1705, the duke of Marlborough again paſſed into Holland. He had now formed a real intention to execute the project, reſpecting which the French were ſo needleſsly apprehenſive the preceding year—to penetrate into France on the ſide of the Moſelle. For which purpoſe he paſſed that river in the beginning of June, expecting a powerful co-operation from prince Louis of Baden, who commanded the imperial army on the Rhine. But that general, who was univerſally believed to regard the duke of Marlborough with malignant and envious eyes, failing in every part of his engagements, his grace was compelled to retreat with ſome precipitation into Flanders, where marechal Villeroy had taken advantage of the duke's abſence, to capture the town of Huy, and to inveſt the city of Liege. The duke, however, not only raiſed the ſiege of that city, and recaptured Huy, but obliged the French general to retire within his lines, which he immediately attacked with his wonted ſucceſs; but the marechal retreating to the ſtrong camp of Parcke, near Louvaine, no farther impreſſion could be made on that frontier during the remainder of this campaign.

On the 5th of May died the emperor Leopold, who had experienced, during his long reign, very wonderful and frequent viciſſitudes of fortune. He was ſucceeded by his ſon, Joſeph king of the Romans. If, from the diſappointments ſuſtained by the allies during this ſummer, the French court derived any hope of recovering their former ſuperiority, the enſuing campaign proved them

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to be wholly fallacious. For the Engliſh general aſſembling the confederate forces early in the ſpring of 1706, marched againſt the French army, commanded by the Marechals Villeroy and Marſin, and the elector of Bavaria, who had received orders from the French Court to riſque a general engagement; and on Whitſunday the two armies joined battle near the village of Ramilies. M. Villeroy, the French commander in chief, is ſaid to have made a moſt injudicious diſpoſition; and the troops, who placed little confidence in his ability, diſplayed no marks of ſpirit or courage. In a ſhort time, all was rout and conſternation; and a moſt complete victory was obtained, with inconſiderable loſs. The almoſt entire conqueſt of the Spaniſh Netherlands was the immediate conſequence of it. Louvaine, Mechlin, Bruſſels, Antwerp, Ghent, and Bruges, ſubmitted without reſiſtance. Oſtend, Menin, Dendermond, and Aeth, ſurrendered almoſt as ſoon as they were ſummoned. And during this fortunate campaign, the ſucceſs of the allied arms in Spain and Italy was ſcarcely inferior to this uninterrupted ſeries of triumphs in Flanders. The duke of Savoy, who had acceded to the grand alliance in the hope of being powerfully ſupported by the Emperor, ſeemed to be abandoned to his fate. He defended himſelf, however, with undaunted reſolution, againſt the efforts of the duc de Vendome, the French general: but, overpowered by the ſuperior force and great military talents of his antagoniſt, he was at length reduced to take refuge in his capital of Turin, where he was cloſely beſieged by the French army under marechal Marſin; the duc de Vendome, after the diſaſter of Ramilies, being recalled in order to take the command of the army in Flanders. The imperial court, determining to make one grand effort in order to relieve the duke of Savoy in this extremity, directed prince Eugene, at the head of a

powerful

powerful army, to march to the relief of Turin. With such ability, and such success, did that celebrated commander execute this important commission, that, after surmounting all the numerous difficulties which obstructed his junction with the duke, he attacked the French army in their entrenchments before Turin, and gained a most glorious and decisive victory; the unfortunate marechal Marsin falling in the action. And this event was quickly followed by the final expulsion of the French from Lombardy. A loan, as M. Voltaire relates, being negotiated by the imperial court amongst the merchants of London, in order to defray the expence of this expedition; after the battle of Turin, prince Eugene wrote to the subscribers in the following terms:—"Gentlemen, I have received your remittances, and flatter myself I have laid out the money to your entire satisfaction." The fortune of the war was not less favorable to the allies in the scene of action southward of the Pyrenées. The arch-duke Charles, recognized as king of Spain by the powers of the alliance, after vainly attempting, by the aid of the king of Portugal, in conjunction with the English and German auxiliaries, to penetrate into that kingdom on the western side, took a sudden resolution, in the course of the preceding summer, to accompany the earl of Peterborough on board the fleet commanded by sir Cloudesley Shovel, on his intended expedition to the eastern coast of that kingdom: and landing in the province of Catalonia, this monarch was received by the inhabitants with every demonstration of joy and affection. Barcelona surrendered in the month of October; and the kingdom of Valencia, with its capital, vanquished with surprising rapidity by the heroic exertions and romantic valor of the earl of Peterborough, also recognized the authority of king Charles. The reigning monarch, seriously

ſeriouſly alarmed at the progreſs of his competitor, made mighty preparations early in the enſuing ſpring for the ſiege of Barcelona, which being defended by king Charles in perſon, made a very vigorous reſiſtance. The earl of Peterborough, who flew from Valencia to its relief, made incredible efforts to ſave this capital; which, however, muſt inevitably have fallen into the hands of the Spaniards, had it not been for the critical arrival of the Engliſh fleet; on the appearance of which, marechal de Teſſé raiſed the ſiege with great precipitation, and retired with the broken remains of his army beyond the mountains. The earl of Peterborough now urged the neceſſity of immediately proceeding to Madrid, in order to form a junction with the Portugueſe, who, finding few obſtacles in their way, had marched to that capital, of which, on the 24th of June, they took quiet and peaceable poſſeſſion. The deciſive counſels of the Engliſh general, happily for Spain, were diſregarded by the new king. For reaſons which doubtleſs appeared to him very important, though it is now difficult to aſcertain them with preciſion, Charles lingered near three months in Catalonia and Arragon—thus allowing his rival full time to recruit his ſhattered forces, and to receive additional ſuccours from France: and on his re-approach to the capital, the Portugueſe army, diſpirited by inaction, ſuſpenſe, and diſappointment, retreated to their own frontier. The earl of Peterborough, enraged to perceive his expoſtulations fruitleſs, and the golden opportunity loſt, reſigned his commiſſion in high diſguſt, and immediately withdrew from the kingdom. It is related, that when it was once alleged by ſome of king Charles's courtiers, as a reaſon for delaying his march to Madrid, that his majeſty's equipage and retinue were not ſuch as were requiſite for the magnificence of his public entry into that capital; general Stanhope with warmth replied, "That king William,

liam, when he made his deſcent upon England, went to London attended only by a few dragoons; otherwiſe he had loſt his crown." The ſucceſs of the campaign however, upon the whole, was ſplendid. At the commencement of it king Charles was cloſely beſieged in Barcelona, and in imminent danger of being made a priſoner; but it terminated in the recovery of Catalonia, the ſecurity of Valencia, and the reduction of Arragon.

But it is now proper to turn our attention to tranſactions of a civil and domeſtic nature. The new parliament, which met the beginning of the preceding winter *, ſoon diſcovered themſelves to be actuated by a diſpoſition very different from their predeceſſors, by paſſing a ſolemn and almoſt unanimous vote, "That whoever preſumed to aſſert the church to be in danger under her majeſty's auſpicious adminiſtration, was an enemy to the queen, the church, and the kingdom." And the two houſes joined in an addreſs to the queen, beſeeching her majeſty to take effective meaſures for diſcovering and puniſhing the authors and publiſhers of this ſeditious and ſcandalous report. That unanimity which had been ſo long interrupted between the two legiſlative aſſemblies was perfectly reſtored under an adminiſtration and parliament, in both of which the principles of whiggiſm had now gained a complete aſcendency, and which enjoyed the entire confidence of the nation. Public meaſures were concerted with wiſdom, and executed with vigor and ſucceſs; and the general aſpect of the times ſeemed peculiarly favorable to the accompliſhment of that great deſign which the late king had recommended to parliament, almoſt with his dying breath, and in which every true patriot moſt ardently concurred—an UNION between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. This was

* October 1705.

at preſent an object of greater conſequence than ever; for by an act paſſed by the parliament of Scotland ſince the acceſſion of the queen, ſtyled the act of Security, that aſſembly was empowered, in caſe of her majeſty's demiſe without iſſue, to declare a ſucceſſor to the crown of Scotland. And very ſerious apprehenſions were entertained, that a fatal and final ſeparation of the two Britiſh crowns might be the reſult of this dangerous conceſſion *. The lord treaſurer Godolphin, who had, in a moment of intimidation, adviſed the queen to give the royal aſſent to this act, which was indeed urged by the Scottiſh parliament with a vehemence and pertinacity not ſo much the reſult of patriotiſm as of faction, now exerted himſelf to the utmoſt, in order to ſurmount a ſeries of obſtacles, which, to a miniſter of leſs reſolution and perſeverance, would have appeared abſolutely inſuperable. And commiſſioners being nominated, and conferences held, after very ample diſcuſſion, and a negotiation protracted to the ſpace of many months, the memorable Treaty of Union was at length concluded; which, after being ratified by both parliaments, received the royal aſſent. And from the 1ſt of May, A. D. 1707, the two kingdoms of England and Scotland became indiſſolubly incorporated, and a proclamation was iſſued to convoke the firſt parliament of Great Britain in the month of

* Such was the alarm excited in the parliament of England by this act, that a bill was immediately introduced and paſſed, declaring the ſubjects of Scotland ALIENS ſo long as it remained in force, prohibiting the importation of cattle into England, or the exportation of wool into Scotland, and empowering the queen's ſhips to ſeize ſuch Scottiſh veſſels as they ſhould find trading to France. And the queen was addreſſed to put the towns of Newcaſtle, Carliſle, and Hull, in a ſtate of defence, and to order the militia of the northern counties to be diſciplined and armed; and Lord Godolphin's zeal for the accompliſhment of the union was certainly invigorated, if not inſpired, by the terrors of an impeachment.

of October. On this occaſion, congratulatory addreſſes were ſent up from all parts of England; but the Scots obſerved a ſullen and expreſſive ſilence. Indeed it cannot be denied that this truly wiſe and ſalutary meaſure was reprobated by the whole Scottiſh nation, and at laſt effected by means which could be juſtified only by the importance and beneficial tendency of the end propoſed by them. The whole weight of regal influence was exerted, every ſpecies of artifice and intrigue was employed, honours and rewards were laviſhed, even bribery itſelf was undoubtedly practiſed, in order to induce the Scottiſh nobles and demagogues to concur in a tranſaction in the higheſt degree conducive to the public welfare and happineſs. It muſt however be acknowledged, that the honor and dignity of that ancient kingdom ſuffered, in conſequence of this union, ſome degree of diminution. Nor is it poſſible to condemn with much ſeverity the high-ſpirited language of the celebrated Fletcher of Saltoun, who ſcrupled not to affirm in parliament, "that the intereſt and honor of the nation were betrayed by the commiſſioners." And when called upon for an explanation, he perſiſted in his charge, alleging "that he could find no other word than *treachery*, to expreſs his ideas of their conduct. It was harſh indeed, but it was truth; and if the houſe thought him guilty of any offence in making uſe of this expreſſion, he declared himſelf willing to ſubmit to their cenſure." A vote of cenſure, however, no one dared to move. And who can avoid admiring, if not approving, the noble and elevated ſentiments of the earl of Belhaven, who, in the higheſt ſtrain of eloquence, depictured Caledonia as ſitting in the midſt of the ſenate, looking indignantly around her, and covering herſelf with her royal robe, attending the fatal blow, breathing out with tender and paſſionate emotion the exclamation,

"Et

" Et tu quoque, mi fili !"—" I ſee," ſays this animated orator, " a free and independent kingdom tamely reſigning that which has ever been conſidered amongſt nations as the prize moſt worthy of contention—a power to manage and conduct their own affairs, without any foreign interference or control. We are the ſucceſſors of thoſe who founded our monarchy, framed our laws, and who, during the ſpace of two thouſand years, have handed them down to us with the hazard of their lives and fortunes. Shall we not then zealouſly plead for thoſe rights which our renowned progenitors ſo dearly purchaſed ? Shall we hold our peace, when our country is in danger ? God forbid ! ENGLAND is a great and glorious nation. Her armies are numerous, powerful and victorious, her trophies ſplendid and memorable. She diſpoſes of the fate of kingdoms. Her navy is the terror of Europe. Her trade and commerce encircle the globe : and her capital is the emporium of the univerſe. But we are a poor and obſcure people, in a remote corner of the world, without name, without alliances and without treaſures. What hinders us then to lay aſide our diviſions, to unite cordially and heartily, when that liberty which is alone our boaſt, when our all, our very exiſtence as a nation, is at ſtake ? The enemy is at our gates. Soon will he ſubvert this ancient and royal throne, and ſeize theſe regalia, the ſacred ſymbols of our liberty and independence. Where are our peers, and our chieftains ? Where are the Hamiltons, the Douglaſſes, the Murrays, and the Campbells ? Will poſterity believe that ſuch names yet exiſted when the nation was reduced to this laſt extremity of degradation, and that they were not eager in ſuch a cauſe to devote themſelves for their country, and die in the bed of honor ? My heart," ſaid this noble patriot, " is full of grief and indignation, when I conſider the triumph obtained

tained by England, who has, at length, brought this fierce and warlike people under ſubjection, who, for ſo many ages, ſhed the beſt blood of the nation to eſtabliſh their independency. It is ſuperfluous," added he, "to enter into a formal examination of the articles of this treaty; for though we ſhould even receive a *carte blanche* from England, what is this in exchange for our ſovereignty! But does not, in fact, this pretended union amount to a political annihilation? I ſee the Engliſh conſtitution remaining firm: The ſame two houſes of parliament, the ſame municipal laws, the ſame commercial companies, the ſame courts of judicature—while WE make an ignominious and entire ſurrender of our national polity, our rights, our liberties, our honor, and our ſafety!"—Theſe were the ſentiments by which the Scottiſh nation was almoſt univerſally actuated, and by which a generous and high-ſpirited people could not fail of being at ſuch a criſis very powerfully impreſſed. The ſpeech of lord Belhaven drew tears of anger and diſdain from his auditors. And it was in vain that a few diſintereſted and diſpaſſionate patriots, who from principle acted in conjunction with the numerous band of courtiers, placemen, and penſioners, who compoſed a majority of the parliament, forcibly urged the great and ſolid advantages which muſt reſult from this union. "That the actual ſituation of Scotland, in a political view," ſaid one of the lords commiſſioners, who addreſſed the houſe upon this occaſion *, "is diſadvantageous and ineligible, no one will venture to deny. Two kingdoms ſubject to one ſovereign, and having ſeparate intereſts, muſt be liable to endleſs emulations and jealouſies: and the monarch will, whenever theſe intereſts come, or are ſuppoſed to come, in competition, be obliged to decide in favor of

* Mr. Seaton of Pitmedden.

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the more powerful kingdom. And the greater the disparity of power and riches, the greater and more manifeſt will be the partiality; as the experience of a whole century has too fatally evinced. But, to aim at an abſolute ſeparation of the Britiſh crowns, would be a raſh and romantic project. If, in former ages, the Scots were ſcarcely able, with the moſt heroic exertions, to maintain their independency, how could it be imagined poſſible, now, that England had acquired ſuch an immenſe preponderance in the ſcale of power? Were they to ſeek for refuge or ſecurity in the revival of the ancient league with France? This would itſelf be a virtual declaration of hoſtility againſt England, and probably accelerate that cataſtrophe which it was its profeſſed object to avert. The policy of Europe would undoubtedly prevent any effectual interference of France in their behalf, in oppoſition to England, the great bulwark of the liberties of Chriſtendom. By an entire ſeparation from England, the internal tranquillity and domeſtic order of the ſtate would be alſo imminently endangered. Is the nation prepared for the reception of a new ſyſtem of laws and juriſprudence? or ſhall we revert to that Gothic conſtitution of government, adapted to the rude and barbarous manners of our anceſtors, and productive of perpetual feuds and implacable animoſities—of devaſtation—outrage and anarchy—and which, previous to the union of the two crowns, we know the executive power did not poſſeſs energy ſufficient to repreſs? If, then, the connection with England cannot be ſafely diſſolved, and if the political relation in which we now ſtand as to that country, is the ſubject of juſt and grievous complaint; what remains but to form a permanent union of the two kingdoms, as well as of the two crowns, on terms of reciprocal amity and advantage? Of the neceſſity and expediency of a firm and durable union, we profeſs indeed

deed an almoſt unanimous conviction—but then it is a federal, and not an incorporative union, for which many of our countrymen entertain a zealous and invincible predilection. But this is not the union which England offers to our acceptance, or which ſhe will herſelf accept. A federal union would be productive of no advantage, would remedy no evil. And where is the guarantee for the obſervance of the articles of a federal compact between two nations, one of which is ſo much ſuperior to the other in riches, power, and number? Hiſtory demonſtrates, that incorporative unions, ſuch as the kingdoms included in the Spaniſh monarchy afford an example of, are ſolid and permanent: but that a federal union is a weak and precarious bond of connection, eaſily diſſolved by intereſt or ambition. Sweden and Denmark were once united by a federal compact—But were peace and concord the reſult of this compact? no—It was the parent of ſtrife, of enmity and oppreſſion; and it terminated in ſcenes of blood and ſlaughter, and in everlaſting ſeparation. Let us not then amuſe ourſelves with words, inſtead of things. By an union of kingdoms, I acknowledge, I comprehend nothing ſhort of an union of power, of government, and of intereſt. Till both nations are thus incorporated into one, England will neither extend to us the benefits of her commerce, nor the protection of her arms. By this union, Scotland will be put into the immediate poſſeſſion of advantages to which ſhe could never otherwiſe attain. The ſources of proſperity will be opened to her view, and placed within her reach. We ſhall have ample ſcope for the exerciſe of our national induſtry, in all its various branches. To the vain ambition of independence—to the mere deluſive phantom of royalty, will ſucceed the flouriſhing arts of peace; and Scotland will, by a policy founded on true wiſdom, acquire that ſecurity and happineſs which form

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the great and genuine end of government. We ſhall, with a juſt increaſe of confidence, ſee our liberty, property, and religion, placed under the guardian care and protection of one Sovereign, and one legiſlature: and every branch of the empire, every part of the body-politic, be it ever ſo remote from the ſeat of government, will participate in the univerſal proſperity, under the beneficial influence of the ſame equitable and liberal ſyſtem of polity, and in the enjoyment of the ſame civil rights and commercial advantages, in proportion to the value of its natural products, and the vigor and perſeverance of its own laudable and voluntary exertions."

Notwithſtanding the good ſenſe and political rectitude of theſe reaſonings, ſuch was the violence with which the treaty of union was oppoſed in the Scottiſh parliament, and ſuch the commotions which it excited in the kingdom, that the duke of Queenſberry, at this time high commiſſioner, abſolutely deſpaired of ſucceſs, and was deſirous of adjourning the parliament, till, by time and management, he ſhould be able to obviate thoſe formidable difficulties. But the lord treaſurer Godolphin, who ſaw that the meaſure would be loſt by delay, urged him to perſiſt in his exertions, which were at length crowned with ſucceſs. The rage of oppoſition *ſuddenly* ſubſided; and the treaty, as originally framed, received, without any material alteration, the ſolemn ſanction of the Scottiſh parliament. And the act of union being now completed on the part of Scotland, paſſed through both houſes in the Engliſh parliament, by a very ſingular effort of political dexterity, almoſt without oppoſition, or even debate or diſcuſſion. For it was ſo contrived that the articles of the treaty, as approved and ratified by the parliament of Scotland, ſhould be recited in the preamble of the act, and that the whole ſhould be converted into a law by a ſingle enacting clauſe. This was a mode of

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conducting the buſineſs which the tories were by no means prepared to encounter, as it totally precluded them from taking the articles ſeparately into conſideration; and they could not, with the leaſt proſpect of ſucceſs, oppoſe the general enacting clauſe. The bill, therefore, paſſed through both houſes with uncommon rapidity, and by great majorities. And nothing can more ſtrikingly demonſtrate the eagerneſs and ardor with which this meaſure was proſecuted by the whigs, than their adopting this unprecedented, and, in other circumſtances, unjuſtifiable mode of enſuring the ſucceſs of it.

Encouraged by the daring ſpirit of faction which at this period prevailed in Scotland, the French court equipped a powerful armament at Dunkirk, with the view of making a deſcent in that kingdom; on board of which embarked the Chevalier de St. George, ſon of the late king James. Immediately on ſailing from Dunkirk, they were cloſely purſued by an Engliſh ſquadron, commanded by Sir George Byng, who captured one of their flag ſhips; and the whole armament was ſo ſcattered and diſperſed in their retreat from the action, that they could not even effect a landing, which might, at the preſent criſis, have been attended with very ſerious conſequences. And after being toſſed for more than a month in a ſtormy and tempeſtuous ſea, they at laſt found their way back, in a ſhattered and diſtreſſed condition, to the port of Dunkirk. On this occaſion, the moſt firm and vigorous meaſures were taken by the government; ſuch, however, as ſufficiently demonſtrated the ſenſe it entertained of the magnitude of the danger. The habeas corpus act was ſuſpended—The abjuration-oath was tendered to all perſons; and thoſe who refuſed it were declared to be in the condition of convict recuſants.—A vote of credit paſſed the houſe of commons, and twelve battalions

battalions of troops were ordered immediately from Flanders. The queen herſelf, in a ſpeech to both houſes, informed them of this alarming attempt to invade the kingdom, and to ſubvert the government; and declared for the *firſt* and the *laſt* time, as many failed not to remark, "That her firmeſt reliance was placed on thoſe who were chiefly concerned in effecting the glorious revolution." In this popular ſpeech, the chevalier de St. George was, by a new deſignation, ſtyled *The Pretender*; which term was re-echoed in the numerous addreſſes preſented to the queen from every part of the kingdom; and by this appellation he was in future uſually diſtinguiſhed. Soon after the termination of this buſineſs, the parliament, which had now ſat three years with the higheſt reputation to itſelf, and advantage to the public, was diſſolved, and a new parliament ſummoned to meet in November 1708, in which the whig intereſt ſtill maintained its aſcendency. A few weeks previous to its aſſembling, died his royal highneſs prince George of Denmark, who had been twenty-five years married to the queen. His total want of talents, his unaſpiring diſpoſition, and mildneſs of temper, very happily combined to qualify him for the peculiarly critical ſtation in which his high fortune had placed him, and in which a man of more ſhining abilities, and more daring ambition, might have proved ſingularly troubleſome and dangerous.

The military tranſactions of the preſent reign are of ſuch importance, and form ſo intereſting a part of its general hiſtory, that a regular recital, however conciſe, of the principal events of the war cannot be with propriety diſpenſed with. After the ſucceſsful campaign of 1706, the moſt ſanguine expectations were entertained, that France, whoſe pride was now humbled in the duſt, would no longer be able to make any effectual reſiſtance;

and that the allies, as victors, might in a ſhort time dictate the terms of peace with the point of the ſword The operations of the enſuing ſummer, did not, however, in any degree tend to confirm theſe lofty ideas. The Duc de Vendôme, who had been recalled from Italy in order to take the command of the army in Flanders, choſe his poſts with ſo much ſkill and judgment, that the duke of Marlborough could not, without manifeſt raſhneſs, venture upon an attack. This was the only campaign during the war, in which that great commander did not obtain ſome ſignal advantage over the enemy: and the French general, whoſe policy it was to act upon the defenſive, fully ſuſtained his high reputation, by thus putting, after his Grace's long career of victories, a ſudden and total ſtop to the progreſs of his arms. If in Flanders the wiſhes and expectations of the confederates were not ſatisfactorily anſwered, in Spain they ſuffered a fatal reverſe: for, a general engagement taking place at Almanza, the Spaniſh army commanded by the duke of Berwick, gained a moſt complete victory. The loſs ſuſtained by the allies was eſtimated at no leſs than 10,000 men; and they were conſtrained, in conſequence of this diſaſter, to abandon the kingdoms of Arragon and Valencia, and to retire once more to the remote province of Catalonia, which ſtill continued faithful in its attachment to the houſe of Auſtria. The projects of the allies in Italy alſo proved unhappily abortive. In the month of July, prince Eugene and the duke of Savoy paſſed the Var, at the head of 30,000 men, and marched directly towards Toulon, to which they laid cloſe ſiege. As the principal naval magazines of France, and the greater part of the fleet, were incloſed within its walls, or its harbor, this enterpriſe excited a general conſternation. The place was however defended with the moſt heroic valor; and troops being aſſembled from all parts,

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in great force, for its relief, the duke of Savoy, who feared left his retreat to Italy ſhould be intercepted, thought proper to raiſe the ſiege with precipitation, and to repaſs the Var, without any acquiſition of honor or profit from this undertaking, into his own dominions. Great blame was upon this occaſion imputed to the emperor, who detached a large body of troops, deſtined for this expedition, to the kingdom of Naples, of which he effected a complete conqueſt: and this was the only advantage gained by the allies during this unfortunate campaign; which, however, did not prevent the houſe of peers from paſſing a reſolution, much applauded by the zealous whigs, "That no peace could be ſafe and honorable for her majeſty and her allies, if Spain and the Indies were ſuffered to continue in the poſſeſſion of the houſe of Bourbon."

The king of France, emboldened by the ſucceſs of the laſt campaign, and confiding in the talents of his general, was inclined to act more upon the offenſive; and early in the ſpring 1708, the Duc de Vendôme ſurpriſed the cities of Ghent and Bruges, and laid ſiege to the town of Oudenard. The duke of Marlborough, however, being now joined by prince Eugene, compelled the enemy to raiſe the ſiege of Oudenard; and following them in their retreat, forced them to a general engagement in the vicinity of that place. Though the Duc de Vendôme, whoſe meaſures were, during the whole of this campaign, much embarraſſed by the preſence of the duke of Burgundy, acted the part of a great general upon this occaſion, rallying, in perſon, the broken battalions, calling the officers by name, and conjuring them to maintain the honor of their country; the French army was, in the end, entirely defeated. Night however ſaved them from total ruin; and the Duc de Vendôme, ſeeing all hope of retrieval loſt, formed his beſt troops

into a rear-guard, with which he ſecured a tolerable retreat. In conſequence of this important victory, the generals of the allies determined to undertake the ſiege of Liſle, the capital of French Flanders—a town, on the fortifications of which Vauban had exhauſted his utmoſt ſkill, and which was defended by a garriſon ſo numerous that the ſucceſs of the enterpriſe was adjudged extremely doubtful. After happily ſurmounting the numerous obſtacles which the ability and vigilance of the Duc de Vendôme, ſtill more than the unrivalled art of the engineer, continually created; and in ſome of which the ſuperior fortune, rather than ſkill, of the duke of Marlborough, was apparent; this important town, together with its citadel, ſurrendered to the allied army, to the inexpreſſible chagrin of the French court, who ſaw the frontier of France, by this conqueſt, expoſed to the moſt dangerous future attacks. Ghent and Bruges were alſo recovered before the end of this campaign, which terminated only with the year.

In Spain and Italy the war ſeemed for the preſent to ſlumber. But, during the courſe of the ſummer, Sir John Leake made a complete conqueſt of the iſland of Sardinia; and, in concert with general Stanhope, alſo of Minorca. And the Pope was menaced by the Britiſh admiral with the bombardment of Civita-Vecchia, in return for the aſſiſtance he had publicly afforded the Pretender in his late expedition into Scotland. From this affront, however, the holy Pontiff was ſaved by the ſeaſonable interpoſition of the imperial court in his favour.

The campaign in Flanders was opened in June 1709, by the ſiege of Tournay, which ſurrendered at diſcretion, after a long and obſtinate reſiſtance. The allies next prepared to attack the city of Mons. But the French army, now commanded by marechal Villars, poſting

ing themſelves behind the woods of La-Merte and Taniers, in the neighborhood of Malplaquet, in order to obſtruct this deſign, the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene formed a reſolution to attack the French General in his camp, which, naturally ſtrong, he had fortified with redoubts, and intrenchments behind intrenchments, with ſuch diligence and ſkill as to make it apparently inacceſſible. After an obſtinate, fierce, and bloody engagement, however, the lines were forced, but not till marechal Villars had been wounded and carried off the field. And it was not without ſome appearance of reaſon the marechal was accuſtomed to boaſt, that had it not been for this accident, the allies would certainly have been defeated. Marechal Boufflers, ſecond in command, made an excellent retreat; and the loſs of the victors was little leſs than that of the vanquiſhed. The victory, however, was crowned by the capture of Mons; after which, both armies went into winter quarters. In Spain, count Staremberg, the Auſtrian general, maintained his ground with reputation to the imperial arms. The duke of Savoy, ſince the failure of his great enterpriſe, contented himſelf with operations merely defenſive, wiſely ſhunning thoſe riſques which might have reduced him once more to that extremity of diſtreſs from which he had ſo lately been almoſt miraculouſly reſcued.

Prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough again took the field together in Flanders, April 1710; and the ſucceſs of the campaign was equal to the expectations excited by the junction of ſuch extraordinary talents. Notwithſtanding the utmoſt exertions of marechal Villars, who directed the operations of the French army with great ability, the allies ſucceſſively reduced the towns of Douay, Bethune, St. Venant, and Aire, paſſing in the proſecution of theſe ſieges one hundred and

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fifty days in open trenches. The moſt intereſting events of the preſent ſummer paſſed however in Spain. The monarch, eager to put a final termination to the hopes and claims of his competitor, advanced at the head of a powerful army into Arragon, in order to bring matters to a deciſive iſſue. General Stanhope notwithſtanding, with a force very inferior, attacked and totally routed the Spaniſh cavalry at Almanara. And count Staremberg following the motions of the king, who found it neceſſary, in conſequence of this check, to retire towards Saragoſſa, diſcovered the Spaniſh army drawn up in order of battle, near that place; and an engagement enſuing, the enemy were entirely defeated. King Charles entered Saragoſſa in triumph, while Philip retired with the wreck of his army to Madrid. The good fortune of Charles, however, was of ſhort duration; proceeding, without delay, to Madrid, in purſuit of his competitor, he had the mortification to find that city entirely deſerted by all the Spaniſh grandees, and to receive the moſt convincing proofs of the fidelity and attachment of the Caſtilians to his rival. Great efforts being made by Philip to collect another army, he ſoon appeared again in force; and count Staremberg, being wholly unſupported, and apprehending his retreat to Catalonia might be intercepted, thought it expedient to retrace his footſteps; and in the beginning of November, his army marched back to Saragoſſa: but the greater part of the Britiſh forces, under General Stanhope, imprudently halting at Brihuega, were ſuddenly ſurpriſed and ſurrounded by the Spaniſh army, and reduced to the fatal neceſſity of ſurrendering themſelves priſoners of war. And in a few days afterwards, Staremberg himſelf was attacked at Villa Vicioſa with great valor, but doubtful ſucceſs: He was, however, compelled, victor as he ſtyled himſelf, to abandon Arragon, and retire to Catalonia; and being cloſely purſued

ſued by the Duc de Vendôme, now at the head of the Spaniſh forces, he was at laſt driven to take ſhelter under the walls of Barcelona. Thus the flattering ſucceſſes of the allies at the commencement of this campaign, proved wholly deluſive; and, during the remaining years of the war, Charles was never able to regain even a temporary ſuperiority.

In the month of May in the ſucceeding year, 1711, the duke of Marlborough appeared, for the laſt time, at the head of the grand army in Flanders—prince Eugene commanding a ſeparate body of forces on the Rhine. This campaign was not diſtinguiſhed, on the part of his grace, by brilliant ſucceſs; but it attracted uncommon attention, as exhibiting the moſt conſummate proofs of military ſkill and conduct. Marechal Villars had, with great labor and perſeverance, drawn lines from Bouchaine on the Scheldt along the Sanſet and Scarpe, to Arras and Canché, which he had fortified by redoubts, batteries, and other military works, in ſuch a manner that he ſcrupled not publicly to boaſt that they were impregnable, and that the Engliſh general had at length arrived at his *ne plus ultra*. The duke, however, boldly advanced within two leagues of the French lines, making every preparation in order to a vigorous attack the next morning; and Villars drew, with all poſſible diligence, his whole force on that ſide, in full expectation of an immediate and furious engagement. This being foreſeen by the duke, he had given previous orders to generals Cadogan and Hompeſch, with a ſtrong detachment, ſecretly drawn from the neighbouring garriſons, to take poſſeſſion of the paſſes on the river Sanſet, at Arleux. At nine in the evening the duke ſilently decamped, and by eight the next morning he arrived at Arleux with his whole army, after a march of ten leagues, without halting. Villars, on being certified of the duke's motions, within

within a few hours of his departure, marched all night with ſuch expedition, that at eleven next morning, he was in ſight of the duke of Marlborough, who, to his unſpeakable mortification, had, as he now found, entered thoſe lines which he had himſelf vauntingly pronounced impregnable, without the loſs of a man. His grace immediately inveſted the important fortreſs of Bouchaine, which ſurrendered after twenty days open trenches only. And this admired and hazardous military achievement cloſed the long glories of this celebrated commander; who, at the critical moment in which he had almoſt penetrated the French barrier, and when another Ramilies might have removed all obſtacles in his march to Paris, was, by the mandate of that ſovereign whom he had ſerved with ſuch unparalleled ability and ſucceſs, diveſted of all his civil and military employments. The gradation of cauſes which led to this event, at which all Europe ſtood in aſtoniſhment, it will now be neceſſary conciſely to develope.

Of the favorable opinion univerſally entertained by the Engliſh nation, reſpecting the general purity and rectitude of the queen's intentions, the epithet of the *good* queen Anne, ſo commonly applied to this princeſs, is itſelf a ſufficient proof. This good queen, however, had imbibed, in a very great degree, the hereditary prejudices of her family reſpecting the nature and extent of the ſovereign authority. And there is reaſon to believe that the ſucceſsful reſiſtance of the nation to the late king James, was, in her eyes, juſtified only by the attempts made to eſtabliſh popery upon the ruins of the proteſtant religion; to which, in the form exhibiting itſelf to her perception, as inculcated and profeſſed by the church of England, ſhe entertained a zealous attachment, or rather a blind and bigoted devotion. As her prejudices, political

political and religious, precisely coincided with those of the Tories, she cherished a strong predilection for that powerful and dangerous faction, in opposition to the Whigs, who were considered as for the most part latitudinarians in religion, or at best as cool and luke-warm friends of the church; and who certainly regarded the particular mode in which the protestant religion was professed, as of little importance, when put in competition with the preservation, enlargement, or security of the civil and religious liberties of the kingdom. The political views of the sectaries, who were very numerous and active, entirely corresponded with those of the Whig party; and their whole weight was invariably thrown into this scale. In return, the Whigs were the strenuous and constant advocates of the dissenters, whenever they were threatened with any species of persecution or oppression. It has been already remarked, that the passions of all the zealous adherents of liberty were, at the period of queen's accession, extremely inflamed against the French monarch—that imperious and restless despot —on account of the open and avowed protection which he granted to the son of the late king James. When England, therefore, acceded to the grand alliance, the Whigs rejoiced in the prospect of humbling the pride, and reducing the power, of that haughty tyrant. Previous to the death of king William, the idea of a war with France had become exceedingly popular; and after the accession of the queen, the leaders of the Tories, Rochester, Nottingham, &c. who opposed a declaration of war on the part of England as unnecessary and impolitic, were over-ruled in the council, chiefly through the all-powerful influence of the earl of Marlborough, who, though himself attached to the Tories, was impatient to give full scope to his talents; and in whose breast an ardent thirst for glory, that "infirmity of noble minds," superseded

ſuperſeded every other conſideration. This influence was obtained chiefly through the medium of the counteſs of Marlborough, who had been long employed in ſtations near the queen's perſon, and who had gradually acquired a complete aſcendency over her. In proceſs of time, Marlborough, and Godolphin his friend and coadjutor, finding that the war received a faint and feeble ſupport only from the Tories, began to connect themſelves with the Whigs, who were zealous and ſanguine in the proſecution of it. And the queen, under the direction and government of theſe two noblemen, ſuffered the Tories to be gradually diſplaced, an adminiſtration compoſed entirely of Whigs to be formed, and two ſucceſſive parliaments to be choſen under the influence of the court, in which that party maintained a decided ſuperiority. While affairs continued in this ſtate, a trivial and fortuitous incident eventually occaſioned a total change in the face of Europe. The ducheſs of Marlborough had introduced a female relation and dependant at the court, who ſo artfully and rapidly inſinuated herſelf into the queen's affection and favor, that the ducheſs found herſelf abſolutely ſupplanted, almoſt before ſhe was appriſed of the danger. The new favorite, Mrs. Maſham, ſoon diſcovering the queen's ſecret predilection for the Tories, combined with Mr. Harley, at this time ſecretary of ſtate, but who aſpired to nothing leſs than the ſtation of prime miniſter, to prepoſſeſs the mind of the queen againſt the duke of Marlborough, and the earl of Godolphin; who, as they ſaid, and truly ſaid, made her majeſty a mere cypher in the government, and engroſſed all power, influence, and patronage, into their own hands—omitting, however, to inform the queen of another truth, not leſs palpable; *viz.* that ſuch was the imbecility of her majeſty's underſtanding and capacity, that ſhe muſt neceſſarily remain a cypher, in whatever hands

hands her affairs were placed. And the voice, not of England only, but of Europe, declared, that the public intereſts could not be entruſted to more faithful or more able directors than the preſent miniſters. The intrigues of Harley with the Tories ſoon tranſpiring, he was compelled immediately to relinquiſh his employments, though with manifeſt tokens of reſentment and alienation from the Whigs, on the part of the queen. The entire management of affairs nevertheleſs ſtill remained with that party; and ſo little force and vigor of mind did the queen poſſeſs, that if ſubſequent circumſtances had not in a remarkable and unexpected manner favored a revolution in politics, it is very doubtful whether it would ever have been effected. Notwithſtanding the wonderful ſucceſſes of the preſent war, the heavy burdens which in conſequence of its long continuance it became neceſſary to impoſe, conſiderably damped the ardor of the public, and by degrees had much abated its original popularity. And the overtures for a general accommodation made by Louis from time to time, and the great conceſſions offered by that monarch, led the generality of intelligent and diſpaſſionate people to conſider the grand object of the war as now ſufficiently attained. At the conferences held firſt at the Hague, and in the following year at Gertruytenberg, A. D. 1710, ſo low were the mighty fallen, that the king of France, through the medium of the marquis de Torcy, his prime miniſter, who upon this occaſion took upon him the office of negotiator in perſon, condeſcended to acknowledge the arch-duke Charles as true and rightful ſovereign of the Spaniſh monarchy; and made in all other reſpects ſuch ample conceſſions as the dire neceſſity of his affairs demanded; ſuch indeed as amply ſecured the intereſts, and ought to have ſatisfied the utmoſt ambition, of the allies. With all the inſolence of proſperity, however, they inſiſted

ſiſted that Louis ſhould abſolutely engage for the entire reſtitution of the Spaniſh monarchy to the houſe of Auſtria, in the ſpace of two months. It was in vain that he urged "this was a promiſe not in his power to perform; and that he could not at his pleaſure depoſe a king of Spain, or impoſe a monarch upon the Spaniſh nation contrary to their own inclination." The plea was treated as idle and frivolous. And even the offer which he ultimately made, to ſurrender three fortreſſes in Flanders into the hands of the allies as pledges for the reſtitution of Spain, and to furniſh his quota in money or troops for the reduction of that kingdom, ſhould Spain refuſe to accede to the treaty, was rejected with diſdain; to the extreme diſſatisfaction of all moderate and reaſonable perſons, who ſaw that the war was in future to be continued, merely to gratify the immeaſurable ambition of the houſe of Auſtria, and that, excluſive of the flagrant injuſtice of forcing a ſovereign on the Spaniards, who was the object of the national abhorrence, the policy of the meaſure was in preſent circumſtances extremely doubtful. For the power of France being ſo greatly reduced, while the grandeur of the imperial family was elevated in the ſame proportion, not leſs danger was to be apprehended by transferring Spain and the Indies to the houſe of Auſtria, than by leaving them in the poſſeſſion of a prince of the houſe of Bourbon. The parliament, notwithſtanding, highly approved the conduct of the Britiſh plenipotentiaries, and returned the duke of Marlborough their unanimous thanks for his public ſervices, when it became every day more apparent, that he was actuated chiefly by private conſiderations, and that he invariably oppoſed all overtures of conciliation, prompted by the ſuggeſtions of ambition and of intereſt. In order however effectually to check and intimidate

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that rising spirit of discontent, evident symptoms of which began now to appear in the nation, and to display the firmness of their attachment to those principles in which this once popular war had originated, the parliament determined to give full scope to their vengeance, on an occasion which certainly called for no such extraordinary violence of exertion.

On the 5th November 1709, an obscure clergyman of the name of Sacheverel, of the high-church faction, preaching at St. Paul's cathedral upon the words of St. Paul, "Perils from false brethren," indulged himself in the most virulent defamation and abuse of the present administration, and of their measures. The lord treasurer in particular was scurrilously attacked, under the name of VOLPONE; and divers of the right reverend bench were also inveighed against with much scorn and malignity, as "perfidious prelates and false sons of the church," on account of their moderation respecting the dissenters, and their avowed approbation of the toleration. He asserted, in terms the most unqualified, the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance; and pretended, that to say the revolution was inconsistent with those doctrines, was to cast black and odious imputations upon it. He affirmed that the church was violently assailed by her enemies, and faintly defended by those who professed themselves her friends. He vehemently urged the necessity of standing up in defence of the church; for which he declared that he sounded the trumpet, and exhorted the people to put on "*the whole armour of GOD.*" This inflammatory and libellous harangue being published at the request of the lord mayor, was extravagantly extolled and applauded by the Tories, and circulated by them with great industry throughout the kingdom. At the very height of the popular ferment and clamor excited by this extraordinary invective, and which would doubtless have

soon

ſoon died away, had no public notice been taken of it, a complaint was formally preferred to the houſe of commons, by one of the members of that houſe, of this ſermon, as containing poſitions contrary to revolution principles, to the preſent government, and to the proteſtant ſucceſſion. As it was by this means obtruded upon the notice of the houſe, it was impoſſible not to expreſs in ſome mode their diſapprobation of theſe nefarious and ſeditious tenets. The wiſer members thought it ſufficient to order the ſermon to be burnt by the common hangman, and to commit the writer to Newgate during the remainder of the ſeſſion. This, however, was by no means ſatisfactory to the majority, who determined to raiſe this contemptible libeller to the rank of a political delinquent of great conſequence and dignity, by a ſolemn parliamentary impeachment at the bar of the houſe of lords. No ſooner was this abſurd and unaccountable reſolution made public, than every poſſible artifice was put in practice, by the Tory faction, to inflame the minds of the public; and to repreſent Sacheverel as the champion and martyr of the church, which the Whigs had, as they affirmed, a fixed intent to ſubvert: and of which project the impeachment of Sacheverel was only the prelude. Theſe calumnies however groſs and palpable, were ſwallowed by the populace with amazing avidity. During the trial, which laſted three weeks, his coach, in paſſing between Weſtminſter Hall and the Temple, where he then lodged, was conſtantly attended by vaſt multitudes with ſhouts and acclamations of applauſe. And great tumults prevailed in the metropolis, where ſeveral places of worſhip licenſed under the act of toleration were pulled down; the houſes of many of the moſt eminent diſſenters were plundered; and thoſe of the lord chancellor, lord Wharton, the biſhop of Sarum, &c. were theatened with demolition. The managers of the houſe of commons,

mons, amongſt whom were the celebrated names of KING, STANHOPE, and WALPOLE, nevertheleſs exerted themſelves with great courage and ability in ſupport of the proſecution *. And divers of the lords ſpiritual as well

* As the ſentiments of the Whig managers of this impeachment, and of the revolution Whigs in general, have of late been groſsly and daringly miſrepreſented, it cannot be improper to make a few extracts from the ſpeeches delivered at this celebrated trial; from which a competent judgment may be formed of the general ſtrain and ſpirit of the proceedings on this occaſion, in behalf of the commons of Great Britain.

Lord Coningſby.—"The doctor, by reflecting on the neceſſary means to bring about the revolution—the foundation on which our preſent happy eſtabliſhment is built—*by aſſerting that her majeſty ought to depend on no other title to her throne, than her hereditary one*, deſigned by ſuch deſtructive poſitions to bring back the pretender, with popery and French tyranny attending him, to govern the ſtate."—As long therefore as a pretender to the throne exiſted, it was true that the political claims and rights of the kings of England reſted, like thoſe of magiſtrates of every other denomination, upon the general conſent and will of the people, or community at large, as the only proper and rational baſis. But the very ſhadow of competition being at length vaniſhed, they are now adviſed by ſome who preſume to ſtyle themſelves WHIGS, to revert for the future to the old ground of inviolable hereditary right.

Mr. Dolben.—"This gentleman, Dr. S. muſt be allowed the infamy to have ſtretched and improved this pernicious tenet to the exalted height of making all our laws, liberties, religion, and lives, to be held only at the precarious pleaſure of any bold invader, when it is taught that no oppreſſion, no violence, can juſtify an oppoſition to it. My lords, the commons have brought this offender before you, with a view not only to detect and puniſh his offence, but to obtain an occaſion in the moſt public and authentic manner to avow the principles and juſtify the means upon which the preſent government and the proteſtant ſucceſſion are founded and eſtabliſhed; and this more out of a generous concern for poſterity, than for our own preſent ſecurity. We hope the record of this proceeding will remain a laſting monument to deter a ſucceſſor that may inherit the crown, but not the virtues of her majeſty, from attempting to invade the laws or the people's rights; and if not, that it will be a noble precedent to excite our poſterity to *wreſtle and tug*

for

well as temporal, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the ſpirit and liberality of their remarks on this intereſting occaſion. The earl of Wharton, knowing at the time the queen to be in the houſe *incognita*, took the opportunity to obſerve, that if the revolution was not lawful, many in that houſe, and vaſt numbers out of it, were guilty of bloodſhed and treaſon; and that the queen herſelf was no legal ſovereign, ſince the beſt title ſhe had to the crown was her parliamentary title, founded on the revolution. Dr. Wake, biſhop of Lincoln, remarked, that by falſe and injurious repreſentations men had been made to believe the church to be in danger, when in reality it enjoyed the moſt perfect ſecurity; but that ſuch invectives, if not timely corrected, might kindle ſuch heat and animoſities as would truly endanger both church and ſtate. And Burnet, biſhop of Sarum, juſtified the principle of reſiſtance

for liberty as we have done."—Could it poſſibly have entered into the imagination of this patriotic ſpeaker, to accuſe any one of ſedition for teaching that the people *have* a right, while in the ſame breath he accuſed Dr. S. of a high offence for teaching that the people have *not* a right, to depoſe their governors for miſconduct?—And will it be pretended by thoſe who have the audacity to bring forward ſuch prepoſterous charges, that they agree in *all* points of political theory and practice with the Whigs of the revolution!

" If," ſays Sir Joſeph Jekyl, " this doctrine of unlimited non-reſiſtance prevail, we muſt give up our right to the laws and liberties of the kingdom, and hold them only during pleaſure.—Hath not this principle of unlimited non-reſiſtance been revived by the profeſſed and undiſguiſed friends of the pretender? The law is the only meaſure of the prince's authority and the people's ſubjection, and it derives its being and efficacy from COMMON CONSENT; though patriarchal or other fantaſtical ſchemes have been framed to reſt the authority of the law upon."—It is plain therefore, that as the general theory of this juſtly applauded manager perfectly accords with that which it is now the faſhion to explode, the theories which eſſentially vary from it, on whatever grounds the ingenuity of their inventors may place them, muſt be ranked amongſt the number of thoſe *fantaſtical ſchemes*, which Sir Joſeph Jekyl rejects with indignation and contempt.

ſiſtance without reſerve. He mentioned the conduct of queen Elizabeth, who had aſſiſted the French, the Scots, and the Hollanders, in reſiſting their reſpective ſovereigns, and who was ſupported in this practice both by her parliaments and her convocations. He obſerved that king Charles I. had aſſiſted the city of Rochelle; and that Mainwaring had incurred the ſevereſt cenſure of parliament, for broaching the doctrine of the divine right of kings:—that though this became afterwards a faſhionable doctrine, yet its moſt zealous aſſertors were the firſt to reſiſt, when actually ſuffering under oppreſſion. He ſaid that by inveighing againſt the revolution, the toleration, and the union, the delinquent at their lordſhips' bar had arraigned and attacked the queen herſelf; ſince her majeſty had a diſtinguiſhed ſhare in the firſt, had often declared ſhe would maintain the ſecond, and that ſhe looked upon the third as the moſt glorious event of her reign. He affirmed, that this audacious libeller had likewiſe caſt the moſt ſcandalous reflections upon her majeſty's miniſters; and that he had, in particular, drawn the portrait of a noble peer then preſent, in colors ſo lively, and had ſo plainly pointed him out by a vile and ſcurrilous epithet, which he would not repeat, that it was impoſſible to miſtake in making the application.—This unintentional ſarcaſm on the lord treaſurer ſomewhat diſcompoſed the gravity of the houſe; and in violation of dignity and decorum, the biſhop was called upon to name him; which, in the fervor of his zeal, and in the wanderings of that mental abſence for which he was remarkable, he might perhaps have done, had not the lord chancellor interpoſed, and declared that no peer was obliged to ſay more than he himſelf ſhould deem proper. In concluſion, Sacheverel was, after high debates, found guilty of a miſdemeanor, by a majority of ſeventeen voices only*; and he was adjudged to be

* 52 to 69.

ſuſpended from preaching for the ſpace of three years, and his ſermon ordered to be publicly burnt. And to the ſame flames was alſo ſomewhat whimſically, though deſervedly, committed the famous decree of the univerſity of Oxford, paſſed near thirty years before, aſſerting the abſolute authority and indefeaſible right of princes. This mild ſentence, which caſt an air of ridicule over the whole proceedings, was conſidered as equivalent to an acquittal by the Tory faction, who celebrated their triumph by bonfires and illuminations, not only in London, but over the whole kingdom. Theſe rejoicings were ſucceeded by numerous addreſſes expreſſive of a zealous attachment to the church, and an utter deteſtation of all anti-monarchical and republican principles. And in a progreſs which Sacheverel afterwards made into a remote part of the country, he was ſumptuouſly entertained by the univerſity of Oxford, invited to the palaces of different noblemen, received in many towns by the magiſtrates in their formalities, and generally attended by a numerous eſcort of horſe. In other places the hedges were ornamented with garlands of flowers, the ſteeples were covered with ſtreamers and flags, and the air every-where reſounded with the cry of "The Church and Sacheverel!" The enthuſiaſm ſpread like a contagion through all ranks and orders of the people. Men ſeemed to ſuffer a temporary dereliction of ſenſe and underſtanding, and the mob and the nation were for a time terms of the ſame import. No martyr ſuffering in the glorious cauſe of civil and religious liberty was ever perhaps ſo much the object of public applauſe and veneration, as this wretched and fanatical preacher of nonſenſe, impiety, and ſedition.

Encouraged by the diſpoſition now univerſally prevalent, the queen gave the firſt public indication of her total change of ſyſtem, by diſmiſſing the marquis of Kent,

Kent, April 1710, and giving the office of chamberlain to the duke of Shrewſbury. In June, the ſeals were taken from the earl of Sunderland, and given to the earl of Dartmouth: and in Auguſt, the lord high treaſurer Godolphin was ordered to break his ſtaff; and the treaſury was put into commiſſion, earl Paulet being appointed firſt commiſſioner. But this appointment was conſidered as merely nominal; Mr. Harley who was conſtituted chancellor of the exchequer, being regarded as chief, or rather ſole miniſter. In October, the queen came in perſon to the council, and ordered a proclamation to be iſſued for diſſolving the parliament; upon which the lord chancellor roſe to ſpeak; but the queen declared that ſhe would admit of no debate, for that SUCH WAS HER PLEASURE. At the ſame time ſhe diſmiſſed the lord Somers, and made the earl of Rocheſter lord preſident of the council. The duke of Buckingham was declared lord ſteward, in the room of the duke of Devonſhire. The ſeals in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Boyle were given to Mr. St. John. The lord high chancellor Cowper was ſucceeded by Sir Simon Harcourt. The earl of Wharton reſigned the government of Ireland; and the earl of Orford, his ſeat at the head of the admiralty. The duke of Marlborough alone was ſtill ſuffered to retain his employments, which he was deterred from reſigning by the preſſing entreaties of the emperor and the States-General, who conceived the fortune of the war to be in a great meaſure attached to his perſon. On his return from the enſuing campaign, he was however, as mention has already been made, diveſted of his command, which was immediately conferred upon the duke of Ormond.

The parliament, which met in November, was compoſed almoſt wholly of Tories, who eagerly ſought occaſion to diſplay their hatred to the principles and perſons

of their predeceſſors. An enquiry was ſet on foot in the houſe of peers into the conduct of the war in Spain: and the earl of Galway and general Stanhope, being Whigs, were cenſured for reſolving to adopt offenſive meaſures, at the opening of the campaign in 1707, contrary to the advice of the earl of Peterborough; which reſolution was with ſingular ſagacity voted to be the cauſe of the loſs of the battle of Almanza, with all its fatal conſequences: and the earl of Peterborough, a zealous Tory, was thanked for his great and eminent ſervices. Though the earl of Godolphin had been one of the moſt incorrupt of miniſters, a vote of cenſure alſo paſſed upon him, on pretence that his accounts were not regularly audited. For the ſake of offering an indignity to the memory of king William, the houſe of commons ordered in a bill, empowering commiſſioners to examine all grants made by that monarch, and to report the value of them, and the conſiderations upon which they were beſtowed. This, however, was rejected by the lords. Great pains were taken to fix a ſtigma upon the character of the duke of Marlborough; and the cuſtomary perquiſites which he received in the capacity of commander in chief were voted to be unwarrantable and illegal; and it was reſolved by the houſe, that the ſums ſo received ought to be accounted for as public property; and the queen ordered the attorney general to commence a proſecution againſt the duke for money actually received by virtue of her own warrant.

Early in the year 1711, Harley was raiſed to the dignity of lord high treaſurer, and created earl of Oxford and earl Mortimer. About this period died Joſeph, emperor of the Romans. His brother, the arch-duke Charles, nominal king of Spain, was elected emperor without oppoſition. This event afforded a fair opening to renew the overtures for a general peace, which was now

now not leſs the object of the eager wiſhes of the court of London than that of Verſailles. After a ſecret, or, as it was ſtyled by the Whigs, a clandeſtine negotiation with the agents of the French court, protracted for many months, it was at laſt agreed, that Utrecht ſhould be the place of congreſs, and that the conferences ſhould be opened the firſt of January 1712. The new emperor, who was previouſly informed that Spain and the Indies were, by the conſent of England, to remain in the poſſeſſion of Philip, vehemently oppoſed the project of a treaty, by which he conſidered his intereſts as ſacrificed: and the States-General themſelves acceded to it with much reluctance, and after long and repeated delays.—The Whigs exclaimed with all the violence of party rage againſt a plan of accommodation founded on this baſis, which they repreſented as fraught with treachery to our allies, and ruin to ourſelves. The ideas inculcated by the leaders, and ſwallowed by the dupes of the faction, are ſtrongly, though undeſignedly, depictured by biſhop Burnet; who gravely informs us, that when the queen condeſcended to aſk of him his ſentiments reſpecting peace, upon obtaining permiſſion to ſpeak his mind plainly, he told her Majeſty, "That it was his opinion, that any treaty by which Spain and the Indies were left to king Philip, muſt in a little while deliver up all Europe into the hands of France. And if any ſuch peace ſhould be made, ſhe was betrayed, and we were all ruined. In leſs than three years time, ſhe would be murdered, and the fires would be again kindled in Smithfield."

The parliament being now convened, the earl of Nottingham, after copiouſly expatiating on the dangers to be apprehended from leaving a prince of the houſe of Bourbon in poſſeſſion of the monarchy of Spain, moved, that a clauſe might be added to the addreſs in anſwer

ſwer to the ſpeech from the throne, repreſenting to her majeſty, "that in the opinion of that houſe, no peace could be ſafe or honorable to Great Britain or Europe, if Spain and the Indies were allotted to any branch of the houſe of Bourbon." The previous queſtion being put upon this motion, it was carried in the affirmative by a ſingle vote; and the main queſtion by three voices, againſt the utmoſt efforts of the court. The earl of Nottingham was himſelf, one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed leaders of the Tory party; but he was at this period, extremely diſcontented at the aſcendency acquired by the earl of Oxford, under whom he would not deign to act a ſubordinate part. The reward for the ſervice thus rendered to the Whigs was their ſupport, or rather acquieſcence, in a bill which the ſame nobleman now moved for leave to bring in againſt occaſional conformity; without which, as he ſaid, he was only an individual; but with it, an hoſt. As there was little doubt, from the preſent temper of the times, that this famous bill, ſo often and ſo ſtrongly agitated, would be revived, the Whigs made no ſcruple to permit the earl of Nottingham to conciliate the confidence of his party, by being himſelf the mover of it, eſpecially as the penalties of the propoſed bill were much milder than they would probably have been if introduced under the auſpices of the court. In conſequence of this previous agreement, the bill paſſed through both houſes with ſilence and rapidity. The diſſenters, however, who did not perfectly comprehend theſe political and courtly manœuvres, loudly complained that they were deſerted by their friends, who endeavored in vain to perſuade them that they conſulted their intereſt in conſenting to their oppreſſion.

At this period prince Eugene arrived in England, being charged with inſtructions from the emperor, to repreſent to the queen, in terms the moſt urgent, the fatal conſe-

conſequences which would attend the defection of England from the alliance, and to propoſe a new plan for the future conduct of the war, in which his imperial majeſty would take upon himſelf a larger proportion of the burden than had been required from his predeceſſors Leopold and Joſeph. The remonſtrances of his highneſs, however, produced no effect; and during his reſidence in London he had even the mortification to ſee twelve peers created in one day, in order to ſecure a majority in favor of the court in the houſe of lords. When the time arrived for opening the campaign, prince Eugene nevertheleſs received poſitive aſſurances from the new general, that he would concur with him in a vigorous proſecution of the war; and when the prince inveſted Queſnoy, the duke of Ormond undertook to cover the ſiege: but when the place was on the point of ſurrender, his highneſs was informed by the Britiſh commander, that an armiſtice was agreed upon between the two crowns of England and France; and that he was obliged, by his inſtructions, immediately to begin his march towards Dunkirk, in order to embark his forces for England. The prince in vain expoſtulated with the duke on the unparalleled baſeneſs of this violation of national faith and honor, and the danger and ruin which might enſue upon this deſertion. The duke was immoveable, and ordered the ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities to be proclaimed by ſound of trumpet: but the foreign troops in the pay of Great Britain unanimouſly refuſed to obey his grace's orders. Notwithſtanding the departure of Ormond, prince Eugene immediately on the ſurrender of Queſnoy inveſted Landreci; but the hiſtory of this campaign, after the ſeparation of the Britiſh forces, is the recital of a continued ſeries of loſſes and diſaſters. Marechal Villars, after defeating a part of the allied army at Denain,

proceeded

proceeded to Marchiennes, which contained the prince's grand *depôt* of military ſtores. After the reduction of Marchiennes, he undertook the ſiege of Douay, which compelled the prince to raiſe that of Landreci, without however being able to ſave Douay. And before the end of the campaign, the French alſo retook Queſnoy and Bouchaine. So that the triumph of Villars was complete, and the allies were overwhelmed with ſhame and conſternation. In the beginning of Auguſt, Mr. Secretary St. John, now created viſcount Bolingbroke, went *incognito* to the court of Verſailles, in order, by his preſence, to obviate all obſtacles to the treaty between France and England. And a total ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities by ſea and land, for the ſpace of four months, was quickly agreed upon; but the treaty was not ſigned in form till the April ſucceeding. All the powers of the alliance, the emperor excepted, at length acceded to the terms preſcribed by England, which were much leſs advantageous than thoſe voluntarily offered by France two years before. Louis ſaw the impolitic ardor with which the Britiſh miniſter purſued and even courted peace, and wiſely improved it to his own benefit. M. Meſnager, the original negociator of the treaty, informs us, that when ſetting out from Paris, the king of France ſaid to him, "I am of opinion that Harley and his new party may ſtand in as much need of peace as of victory; and that they may want me as much as I want them*." And

* The innate goodneſs of the queen's diſpoſition, and her artleſs ſimplicity, are ſtrongly marked by a circumſtance related by M. Meſnager, who tells us, that on being introduced by a certain nobleman privately to the queen at Kenſington, her majeſty ſaid, "My lord * * * here has given me an account of what ſteps you have taken—You may let him hear what you have to ſay." M. Meſnager bowed, but was prevented replying by the queen's addreſſing herſelf to the nobleman; after

And he adds, that it was impoſſible to deſcribe the tranſports of joy the king was in at the news of the diſſolution of the Whig parliament. A ſeparate peace was at laſt concluded November 1713, at Al-Raſtadt, between the emperor and France; by which the former acknowledged the title of the king of Spain; and Naples, Milan, Sardinia, and the Low Countries were ceded to the houſe of Auſtria.

A new parliament being convened in December, debates ran, if poſſible, higher than ever between the two ſtate factions. Theſe were occaſioned chiefly by the fears and jealouſies entertained by the Whigs, that the proteſtant ſucceſſion was in danger, from the ſecret deſigns of the miniſters of the crown in favor of the Pretender; though it muſt be acknowledged, no very clear proof has yet been adduced that any ſuch deſigns were ſeriouſly harbored. "It was eaſy to ſee," ſays M. Meſnager, "that ſeveral who were near the queen had inclinations favorable to the court of St. Germains; but they could not make it practicable, as they all ſaid, to take any ſteps in that intereſt, without hazard to *their own:* and I never found they had a true zeal for any thing elſe." Oxford and Bolingbroke, the two principal leaders of adminiſtration, had long been at variance, and the diſſenſion between them now became open and public. Oxford was a man not remarkable for capacity, but long and intimately converſant in buſineſs; cloſe, plauſible, ſubtle, jealous, intriguing, and ambitious. He aimed at engroſſing the entire confidence of the

after which ſhe again turned to M. Meſnager, and ſaid, "'Tis a good work; I pray God ſucceed you in it: I am ſure I long for peace; I hate this dreadful work of blood:"—and ſhook her head two or three times as ſhe retired, adding ſome words, which M. Meſnager tells us he was extremely ſorry he was not able to overhear. Vide Meſnager's Memoirs.

the queen, and the ſole management of affairs: and inſtead of admitting Bolingbroke to the rank of a coadjutor, he viewed him with meanneſs of fear and ſuſpicion; as a competitor, by whom he dreaded to be eclipſed and perhaps ſupplanted. On the other hand, Bolingbroke finding himſelf regarded in the light of a rival, made no ſcruple to become ſo. This celebrated nobleman, excluſive of the exterior and perſonal advantages by which he was diſtinguiſhed, was poſſeſſed of abilities of the firſt order, of manners the moſt captivating, of eloquence the moſt commanding. In almoſt every thing, the reverſe of the earl of Oxford; his temper was open and generous; his conduct, both in public and private life, high-ſpirited and magnanimous; and his meaſures bold and deciſive. Equally with Oxford the ſlave of ambition, and leſs ſcrupulous in the means of gratifying it, there was good reaſon to fear leſt a miniſter of this deſcription, in order to ſecure the favor of the ſovereign, who cheriſhed a ſecret but inveterate diſlike to the houſe of Hanover, would engage with ardor in the proſecution of projects, which the phlegmatic caution of Oxford would deem romantic and impracticable, and which were alſo abhorrent from his feelings and principles. While Oxford entirely loſt the confidence of the Tories, which indeed he never perfectly poſſeſſed, by his flowneſs, duplicity, and indeciſion; Bolingbroke gained ground, both with the queen and the faction, by the ſuperiority of his talents, his firmneſs and vigor. Reſolute and daring, from that conſciouſneſs of genius which led him to place an entire reliance upon the reſources of his own mind, he very early acquired, and ever after maintained, in a degree which no political leader ſince the death of Shafteſbury had been able to attain, the moſt ſurpriſing aſcendency over the opinions of all his political aſſociates.

It

It is difficult to conjecture, however, under what pretence or color any attempt could have been made to subvert the proteſtant ſucceſſion, for which both parties publicly and uniformly profeſſed the moſt zealous attachment. In the beginning of March, the queen, whoſe health was much affected by the violence of thoſe parties which ſhe found herſelf unable to control, and the ſtill more diſtreſſing animoſities and contentions of her own miniſters, went in perſon to the houſe of lords; and after magnifying the advantages ſecured to England by the late treaty of peace, ſhe obſerved, "That ſome perſons had been ſo malicious as to inſinuate, that the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover was in danger under her government; but that thoſe who endeavored to diſtract the minds of men with imaginary dangers, could only mean to diſturb the public tranquillity." This declaration was much better received by the commons than in the houſe of peers, where the Whigs were very numerous and powerful. The queſtion being propoſed by the earl of Wharton, Whether the proteſtant ſucceſſion was in danger under the preſent adminiſtration? a very warm debate enſued; and the lord treaſurer Oxford, laying his hand upon his heart, declared, that he had on ſo many occaſions given ſuch ſignal proofs of affection to the proteſtant ſucceſſion, that he was confident no member of that auguſt aſſembly could ever mean to call it in queſtion. The proteſtant ſucceſſion was at length voted out of danger by a ſmall majority *. The earl of Wharton

* Upon this occaſion the earl of Angleſea, who had the reputation of being at the head of the *Trimmers*, divided with the Whigs. And it has been ſhrewdly ſuggeſted, that the reaſon why ſo many of this claſs voted the proteſtant ſucceſſion to be in danger, was their firm perſuaſion that it was perfectly ſafe. "The art of the Whigs," ſays lord Bolingbroke,

Wharton then moved, that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to the queen, to iſſue a proclamation, promiſing a reward to any perſon who ſhould apprehend the Pretender, dead or alive; to which lord Trevor very humanely and properly propoſed to add, "in caſe of his landing, or attempting to land, in Great Britain or Ireland." To the motion, thus mitigated and modified, the houſe agreed; and on its being preſented to the queen, ſhe replied in the following terms: "My lords, it would be a real ſtrengthening to the ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover, as well as a ſupport to my government, that an end were put to thoſe groundleſs fears and jealouſies which have been ſo induſtriouſly propagated. I do not, at this time, ſee any occaſion for ſuch a proclamation: whenever I judge it to be neceſſary, I ſhall give my orders for having it iſſued." The next ſtep which the never-ceaſing jealouſy of the Whigs led them to adopt, was, to perſuade the court of Herenhauſen to order baron Schutz, the Hanoverian envoy, to demand of the chancellor a writ for the electoral prince as duke of Cambridge, with a view to his reſidence in England. Of this deſign the queen, however, expreſſed her diſapprobation to the princeſs Sophia, in terms ſo ſtrong, that it was thought expedient to lay it aſide. The death of the electreſs taking place at this period, the elector of Brunſwic was, by an order of the court, prayed for by name in all churches and chapels throughout England, as preſumptive heir to the Engliſh crown. In May, a

Bolingbroke, "was to blend as undiſtinguiſhably as they could, all their party intereſts with thoſe of the ſucceſſion, and they made juſt the ſame factious uſe of the *ſuppoſed* danger of it, as the Tories had endeavored to make ſome time before of the *ſuppoſed* danger of the church."

bill

bill to prevent the growth of Schiſm was introduced: by which diſſenters were prohibited from all interference in the buſineſs of education. For though the evil effect was acknowledged to be without remedy, and therefore entitled to ſome indulgence, the evil cauſe, it was ſaid, ought to be prevented, and was therefore entitled to none. Notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts of the Whigs, who were enflamed with a juſt indignation at this atrocious invaſion of the natural rights of mankind, this deteſtable bill paſſed through both houſes, and received the royal aſſent. This was however the laſt triumph of the Tory party, many of whom were undoubtedly diſpoſed to have gone far greater lengths. But the queen's conſtitution was now ſo entirely broken, that it was evident ſhe approached towards the concluſion of her life: and the miniſters of the crown, in the alarming proſpect of her diſſolution, thought of little elſe than their private intereſts and perſonal ſafety. Oxford and Bolingbroke were now ſo exaſperated againſt each other, that they could not abſtain from the moſt indecent and bitter altercation, even in the preſence of the queen. Not a ſingle meaſure, however, was adopted at this critical period, by which it could be inferred that the miniſtry entertained deſigns hoſtile to the proteſtant ſucceſſion. On the contrary, attempts having been made to enliſt men for the ſervice of the Pretender, a proclamation was immediately iſſued, promiſing a reward of 5000l. for apprehending the Pretender, whenever he ſhould land, or attempt to land, in Great Britain or Ireland. Both houſes voted an addreſs of thanks for this proclamation; and lord Bolingbroke himſelf brought in a bill, denouncing the penalties of high treaſon againſt thoſe who ſhould enliſt, or be enliſted, in the Pretender's ſervice. On the 9th of July the ſeſſion was terminated by a ſpeech from the throne, in which the queen affirmed, that her chief concern

cern was to preſerve the proteſtant religion, the liberty of her ſubjects, and the tranquillity of the kingdom. On the 27th of July the earl of Oxford was unexpectedly diveſted of the ſtaff of treaſurer; and Bolingbroke found himſelf elevated to the ſummit of power, by the ſudden and total fall of his rival. This ſplendid preeminence, however, he enjoyed only for a moment. The queen, who was perceived to be extremely agitated from the time of the diſmiſſion of lord Oxford, never recovered her compoſure of mind; but, as if altogether exhauſted by inceſſant fatigue, chagrin, and vexation, ſhe gradually ſunk into a kind of lethargy, in which ſtate ſhe remained till Sunday morning Auguſt 1 (1714), when ſhe expired, in the 50th year of her age, and the 13th of her reign.

Whatever projects Bolingbroke might have in contemplation, they were entirely diſconcerted by the firmneſs and ſpirit with which the leaders of the Whig party acted upon this occaſion. A meeting of the privy council being convened when the queen was on the verge of departure, they took their places at the council-board without any regular ſummons, and immediately proceeded, by the moſt vigorous meaſures, to provide for the ſecurity of the kingdom. Orders were diſpatched to ſeveral regiments of horſe and dragoons to march towards the metropolis. Directions were given for equipping a fleet with all expedition. An expreſs was ſent off to the elector of Hanover, ſignifying, that the queen's life was deſpaired of, and deſiring that he would without delay repair to Holland, where he would find a Britiſh ſquadron ready to convoy him to England. Inſtructions were at the ſame time diſpatched to the earl of Strafford, ambaſſador at the Hague, to demand from the ſtates the performance of their engagements, as guarantees of the proteſtant ſucceſſion; and the heralds at arms

were

were kept in waiting, in order to proclaim the new king the inſtant the throne ſhould become vacant. No ſymptoms of popular tumult or diſcontent however, much leſs of oppoſition, appeared on this great occaſion; and whatever might be intended, it is certain nothing was effected by the late queen and her miniſters in favor of the Pretender.

The death of that princeſs muſt notwithſtanding, upon the whole, be regarded as a very ſeaſonable and fortunate event. For, had Bolingbroke been fully eſtabliſhed in the poſt of prime miniſter, it is impoſſible to aſcertain the extent of the miſchief which might eventually have reſulted from the union of ſuch uncommon talents with ſuch a total want or diſregard of principle. The queen, however, merits our pity at leaſt as much as our cenſure. Her partiality for her own family, and her diſlike of the houſe of Hanover, were natural and pardonable. The queen's own political conduct, notwithſtanding her high theoretical principles of government, was uniformly regulated by the ſtricteſt regard to the laws and liberties of the kingdom, for the welfare of which ſhe entertained even a maternal ſolicitude: and, if ever ſhe indulged the idea of cauſing the crown, at her deceaſe, to revert to the hereditary, and, doubtleſs, as ſhe imagined, the true and rightful claimant, it was certainly only on conditions, which, in her opinion, would have effectually ſecured both the proteſtant religion and the Engliſh conſtitution from the hazard of future violation.

K. GEORGE I.

GEORGE-LOUIS, elector of Hanover, and head of the house of BRUNSWIC-LUNENBURG, derived his descent from the blood-royal of England by his mother Sophia, daughter of Frederic, elector palatine and king of Bohemia; who married Elizabeth of England, only daughter of James I. It is evident therefore, that the title of this prince was founded solely on the choice of the parliament, *i. e.* of the people or nation; and that the usual order of succession was entirely superseded. For, *admitting* the male line of the house of Stuart to have been extinguished in the person of James II., the right of blood rested in the house of Savoy, descended from Henrietta Duchess of Orleans, daughter of Charles I. And the princess Sophia herself being the youngest daughter of the unfortunate Palatine, more than fifty descendants of that prince prior in the order of succession were passed over in the act of William, which settled the crown of England on the house of Hanover. So that the rights of the people were not only asserted, but exercised in their full extent: and the family upon the throne is indisputably *an elected family*, though the general law or rule of succession remains unaltered. The new monarch was, at the period of his

acceſſion, in the 55th year of his age, being born the day before the reſtoration of K. Charles II. The uniform prudence with which this prince had conducted himſelf throughout the conflicts of the late reign, the general reſpectability of his character, and the auſpicious circumſtances which attended his elevation, ſeemed to augur calm and proſperous days. The embers of civil diſcord and animoſity were extinguiſhed however only in appearance, and the violent meaſures which the King was unhappily perſuaded to adopt, ſoon rekindled not only the torch of ſedition but the flames of war. The kingdom might at this time be conſidered as divided with great nearneſs of equality into the two adverſe factions of Whigs and Tories; the latter of which, from the egregious indiſcretion of the Whigs in the fatal buſineſs of Sacheverel, had recently acquired a great addition of ſtrength and vigor. But it muſt not be imagined that all who were included in the appellation of Tories, who deteſted the principles, civil and religious, maintained by the Whigs, as deſtructive of the ancient conſtitution and orthodox faith, and who hated ſtill more the perſons of the Whigs than their principles, as their perpetual and implacable rivals for power, diſtinction, and popularity, were therefore attached as a party to the exiled family. Doubtleſs a great majority of them would have been ſeriouſly alarmed at any attempt to reſtore the ſon of the late king James to the throne, at leaſt while he remained a papiſt; and his notorious bigotry precluded almoſt every hope or expectation of his converſion to proteſtantiſm. Previous to the æra of the revolution, the ſpeculative line of diſcrimination between the two grand factions of the ſtate, now gradually fading into obſcurity, was clearly and ſtrongly marked. The WHIGS maintained civil government to be an inſtitution of human origin and appointment, conſonant indeed to the divine will,

will, as essential to the order and happiness of the moral creation. The powers vested in the civil magistrate they regarded therefore as a delegation or trust from the people: and it was a necessary consequence of this doctrine, that the individuals entrusted with these powers were ultimately responsible to the people for the exercise of them, and liable to be degraded and punished for the abuse of them. They asserted that there were unalienable rights inherent in human nature, for the preservation of which, government was originally instituted; amongst the chiefest and most important of which they accounted the right which every man possesses of worshipping GOD, not according to a decree of the state, but to the dictates of his own conscience. In other words, they maintained the principle of TOLERATION, not as a matter of favor, but of justice. And this principle was considered by them as violated, not only by laws professedly penal, but by any exclusion from the common rights and privileges of citizenship, founded not on any species of civil delinquency, but the mere unavoidable diversity of religious opinions. The TORIES, on the other hand, rejected these doctrines with vehement indignation and abhorrence, as subversive of the welfare, and even of the existence, of civil society. They asserted that government was expressly ordained of GOD, from whom alone princes derive their authority, and to whom alone they were responsible for their actions—that to resist the will of the Sovereign, was in effect to resist the will of GOD—and that although, when the commands of the sovereign were directly opposed to the commands of GOD, an active obedience could not be lawfully yielded; yet even in these extreme cases it was the duty of the subject quietly to submit to all the consequences of his non-compliance: and that passive obedience and non-resistance were at all times and in all cases right and obli-

gatory, where active obedience became either criminal or impracticable. They were far from denying that it was the duty of the prince to consult and provide for the welfare and happiness of the people, as the great end of his government; but for any neglect or contempt of this duty, there was, as they asserted, no lawful remedy but humble petition and remonstrance. That the people had rights, they admitted; but these rights were not to be defended by force. In the number of these rights, however, they did not include the right of private judgment in religion. They conceived it to be the duty of individuals to acquiesce in that *formula* of doctrines, and to conform to that mode of worship, which the wisdom of the state had provided; that to oppose private to public opinion was in all cases presumptuous and unwarrantable; and in matters of religion more especially dangerous, and doubly culpable, as a contemptuous defiance of the united authority of church and state*. Subsequent to the revolution, however, in which great transaction the Tories had taken a very laudable and decided part, they appear to have been much embarrassed to maintain the credit and consistency of their system. At the trial of Sacheverel, the duke of Leeds, so famous under his former title of earl of Danby, and who had himself given a noble proof of his patriotism by signing the invitation to the

* That this delineation of the principles by which the two great parties in the state were distinguished is accurate and just, may be demonstrated by an appeal to that perfect standard of Toryism and High-churchism, the ever-memorable decree of the university of Oxford, passed in full convocation, July 21, 1683, and presented to the King (Charles II.), July 24. "The VICE-CHANCELLOR, doctors, proctors, and masters, regent and not regent, met in convocation, decree, judge, and declare, to the honor of the holy and undivided Trinity, the preservation of the catholic truth in the church, and that the king's majesty may be secured from the machinations of treacherous heretics and schismatics

the prince of Orange, ſcrupled not to declare the revolution to be an event, however urgent the political neceſſity of it, utterly irreconcileable with any juſt principles of government; that thoſe who examined it leaſt therefore were its beſt friends; and that a veil ought to be thrown over that tranſaction, inſtead of quoting it as a precedent fit and proper for imitation*. Many of this party

ſchiſmatics—all and every of the following propoſitions (cum multis aliis) to be falſe, ſeditious, and impious, and deſtructive of all government in church and ſtate.

* * * * * *

" All civil government is derived originally from the people.

* * * * * *

" That there is a mutual compact, tacit or expreſs, between a prince and his ſubjects, and that if he perform not his duty, they are diſcharged from theirs.

* * * * * *

" That if lawful governors become tyrants, or govern otherwiſe than by the law of God and Man they ought to do, they forfeit the right they had unto their government.

* * * * * *

" The ſovereignty of England is in three eſtates—viz. king, lords, and commons; the king having but a co-ordinate or ſubordinate power.

* * * * * *

" Self-preſervation is the fundamental law of nature, and ſuperſedes all others whenſoever they ſtand in competition with it.

* * * * * *

" There is no obligation upon chriſtians to paſſive obedience, when the prince commands any thing contrary to the laws.

* * * * * *

" It is not lawful for ſuperiors to impoſe any thing in the worſhip of God that is not antecedently neceſſary.

* * * * * *

" Wicked kings and tyrants ought to be put to death; and if the judges and inferior magiſtrates will not do their office, the power of the ſword devolves to the people."

* Nothing is more common or eaſy than for perſons who are far removed from the embarraſſments and temptations incident to thoſe who occupy diſtinguiſhed ſtations in public life, to cenſure the leaſt deviation from

party satisfied themselves with the notion of an abdication on the part of the monarch, and asserted with Sacheverel himself, in defiance of facts, that the nation did not resist. The generality of the Tories, however, including almost the whole body of the clergy, highly offended with the unexpected advancement of the prince of Orange to the throne, adopted the famous distinction of a king *de facto*, and a king *de jure*: and by yielding a passive obedience to the monarch in possession, they flattered themselves that they consulted their interest without abandoning their principle. After the death of the duke of Gloucester, the MARCELLUS of England, the national detestation of popery, which equally pervaded all parties, induced the Tories to acquiesce in the parliamentary settlement of the crown on the house of Hanover, as the least of two great evils, without appearing very solicitous, after the lapse of so many years, to reconcile their practice with a theory the original uncontaminated dignity of which it was no longer possible for them to maintain. The Whigs, on the contrary, had ever distinguished themselves by the ardor of their zeal for the Hanover succession. Nor would the strength of their attachment to that house have been shaken or impaired by

from the rigid line of rectitude, in terms of harsh and indiscriminate severity; thus indirectly asserting their own claim to the praise of immaculate and incorruptible integrity, beyond the possibility of *confutation*; though there may perhaps arise a *suspicion* that, in the hour of trial and danger, the patriotism and public spirit of the accused might be found beyond all comparison to surpass that of their dogmatical and virulent accusers, who would fain persuade us that there is no virtue in men whose conduct indicates any mixture of human weakness and infirmity.—These observations are particularly applicable to the earl of Danby, who more than redeemed his political errors and delinquencies by the glorious ardor with which, at the extreme hazard of his life and fortune, he concurred in the original formation, and subsequent happy and successful accomplishment, of the ever-memorable revolution.

by any recantations or proteſtations, however frequent or ſolemn, on the part of the Pretender. Under the banners of this party, the diſſenters of all denominations ranged themſelves with eagerneſs; and in a political view they might be conſidered as directly oppoſed to the Jacobites, who regarded the Sectaries with peculiar malignity, and who, under the general denomination of Tories, ſought for occaſions of ſubverting the preſent eſtabliſhment, with anxiety as inceſſant as the diſſenters to fortify and ſecure it. Under theſe circumſtances, it is no wonder that the king ſhould entertain a ſtrong predilection for the Whigs; and being educated in the principles of Lutheraniſm, which bear a nearer analogy to preſbyterianiſm than to epiſcopacy, he regarded the diſſenters with favor, as men whoſe political and religious opinions rendered them his firmeſt and moſt unalterable friends; and it is ſaid that, the unfortunate fate of king Charles I. being once mentioned in his preſence, as a proof of their implacable animoſity to kings, he replied with a pleaſant indifference, "that he had nothing to fear, for that the king-killers were all on his ſide." Convinced that no danger was to be apprehended on the death of the queen, either from foreign or domeſtic enemies, he appeared in no haſte to leave Herenhauſen; and it was not till the middle of September that he arrived in England, which exhibited every where the appearance of ſatisfaction and tranquillity. The king of France, of whom alone any jealouſy could be entertained, ordered, on the firſt intelligence of the demiſe of the queen, M. D'Iberville, his envoy extraordinary at the court of London, to declare, in the moſt explicit terms, his reſolution to adhere to the terms of the late treaty, and his ſincere deſire to maintain the moſt perfect amity and good underſtanding with the new ſovereign: and count Konigſeg, the

the imperial ambaſſador, offered, in the name of the emperor his maſter, any number of troops that might be wanted at this criſis, to ſupport the authority of government. Previous to the departure of the king from Hanover, notwithſtanding the preſent fair and flattering appearances, he had tranſmitted orders to the regency*, conſiſting of the ſeven great officers of ſtate, and certain other perſons appointed in virtue of an act paſſed in the late reign, to remove lord Bolingbroke from his poſt of ſecretary of ſtate, and to ſeal up the doors of his office. This was ominous of the change of miniſtry, which took place immediately on his aſſumption of the regal power. And it was no leſs abſolute and deciſive than that which preceded it, A. D. 1710. The earl of Halifax was made firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, the king refuſing to create a lord high treaſurer; not chooſing, as he ſaid, that there ſhould be any greater man in the kingdom than himſelf.

* For the mere purpoſe of embarraſſing the Whigs, a motion had been made in parliament by the Tories, A. D. 1705, for an addreſs to the queen, beſeeching her majeſty to invite the princeſs Sophia, preſumptive heireſs to the crown, to reſide within the realm. The Whigs raiſed their credit extremely with the queen, to whom this motion was very offenſive, by the ſtrenuous oppoſition which they heſitated not to give to it; and in order to preſerve their credit with the nation, a bill was brought in, under the ſanction of the Whig miniſtry, for ſecuring the proteſtant ſucceſſion; by which, in caſe of the queen's demiſe, the executive power of government was veſted in the perſons holding the offices of archbiſhop of Canterbury, lord Chancellor, lord Treaſurer, lord Preſident, lord Privy Seal, lord High Admiral, and lord Chief Juſtice of the queen's bench, in conjunction with certain other perſons, nominated as regents by the ſucceſſor in three liſts to be ſealed up and depoſited with the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the lord Chancellor, and the miniſter reſidentiary of Hanover. This bill the Tories in their turn oppoſed with violence; but it paſſed by a great majority, and with the general approbation of the nation; and the Tories, by their injudicious conduct in the whole of this tranſaction, afforded their rivals a great and deciſive advantage.

himſelf. Lord Townſhend and general Stanhope were nominated ſecretaries of ſtate, and to them was chiefly committed the direction of foreign affairs. The earl of Nottingham, the only Tory admitted into the new adminiſtration, was declared preſident of the council, the former council being previouſly diſſolved. Lord Cowper was reinſtated in the high office of chancellor; the command of the army reſtored to the duke of Marlborough; the privy ſeal given to the earl of Wharton, and lord Sunderland appointed to the government of Ireland.—Hitherto no more was done than might have been with certainty expected: no more than the attachments and even the intereſts of the new government might reaſonably perhaps be thought to require. But it quickly appeared that meaſures of great ſeverity, amounting to almoſt a general proſcription of the Tory party, were determined upon by the Whigs, who were now in full and excluſive poſſeſſion of the government; and whoſe power ſeemed eſtabliſhed on a baſis ſo firm, as might, if the ſpirit of equity and moderation had influenced their councils, have inclined them to a milder and more temperate ſyſtem of policy. The parliament, which aſſembled in March 1715, was compoſed almoſt entirely of Whigs, who were well diſpoſed to ſecond the moſt vindictive meaſures which could be ſuggeſted by the adminiſtration: "For the miniſters," ſays lord Bolingbroke, "whoſe true intereſt it muſt always be to calm the minds of men, were upon this occaſion the tribunes of the people."

The royal proclamation convoking this aſſembly contained in it the following indiſcreet expreſſions: "It having pleaſed Almighty GOD, by moſt remarkable ſteps of his providence, to bring us ſafe to the crown of this kingdom, notwithſtanding the deſigns of evil men, we do not doubt that our loving ſubjects will, in the enſuing elections,

elections, have particular regard to such as shewed a firmness to the protestant succession *when it was in danger*." This was styled by sir William Wyndham, a member conspicuous for his parliamentary talents, no less than his zealous attachment to the Tory interest, " an unprecedented and unwarrantable exertion of the prerogative, and of dangerous consequence to the very being of parliaments," for which, having refused to apologize, he was, by order of the house, reprimanded by the speaker, who intimated that it was owing to the extraordinary lenity of the house, that he was not committed to the tower. Sir William Wyndham in reply declared, " that he was neither conscious of offering any indignity to his majesty, nor of violating the privileges of that house; and that he had therefore no thanks to give those gentlemen, who, under pretence of lenity, had brought this censure upon him." This incident sufficiently indicated the temper of the house, the attention of which was however quickly engaged by far greater objects, in consequence of official information from general Stanhope and Mr. Walpole, a man of distinguished ability, and who had in the late reign suffered severely for his attachment to the Whig interest, under the recollection of which he yet smarted*, that the papers found in the office of the late lord Bolingbroke would afford ample ground for impeaching various of the members of the former administration, which they affirmed to be the most wicked and corrupt that had ever sat at the helm

* In the session of parliament 1711, Mr. Walpole, on pretence of a *douceur* of 1000 guineas said to have been received by him, or with his consent, from the profits of a certain government contract made by him when secretary at war, was voted guilty of an high breach of trust and notorious corruption, was committed prisoner to the tower, and expelled the house, and a prosecution ordered to be instituted against him.

helm of affairs in this country. This nobleman, who had hitherto preſerved the appearance of great ſerenity; attending and even taking a part, as uſual, in the debates of the houſe of lords; now withdrew with great precipitation to the continent. In the beginning of April general Stanhope laid before the houſe of commons all the papers relating to the negociations of the late miniſtry with France, which were immediately referred to a ſelect committee of twenty-one perſons; and in June Mr. Walpole, as chairman, made the report, in which the ſecret preliminaries ſigned with M. Meſnager, the ſuſpenſion of arms, the ſeizure of Ghent and Bruges by the duke of Ormond, lord Bolingbroke's journey to Paris, and ſeparate conferences with the French miniſtry; in a word, all the meaſures which preceded or facilitated the concluſion of the peace of Utrecht, were ſtated as highly criminal. And Mr. Walpole, boldly aſſerting that to vindicate theſe meaſures was in a manner to ſhare the guilt of them, terminated the report by impeaching Henry lord viſcount Bolingbroke of HIGH TREASON; and lord Coningſby immediately ſtanding up, exclaimed, "The worthy chairman has impeached the hand, but I impeach the head—I impeach Robert earl of Oxford and earl Mortimer of high treaſon." On the 21ſt of June general Stanhope impeached the duke of Ormond of high treaſon; and the day following Mr. Aiſlabie impeached the earl of Strafford of high crimes and miſdemeanors. And ſuch was the temper of the houſe, that theſe impeachments were for the moſt part carried without difficulty, and almoſt without a diviſion. It is notwithſtanding very hard to diſcover upon what conſtitutional grounds any of theſe impeachments could be voted, and much leſs how the charges contained in them could amount to the crime of high treaſon. The meaſures adopted by the late Tory miniſtry were, it muſt be allowed, diſ-

graceful

graceful to the reputation, incompatible with the engagements, and in ſome points injurious to the intereſts, of the kingdom. But as nothing was done without the ſanction and concurrence of parliament, on what pretence of juſtice miniſters could be puniſhed for carrying into effect meaſures of ſtate policy which had received either the previous or ſubſequent approbation of the legiſlature, it ſeems difficult or rather impoſſible to deviſe. To miſlead or delude the parliament into a miſtaken approbation of any ſpecific meaſures of government by defective or erroneous information, is indeed an high offence: But to execute meaſures approved by the legiſlature, in conſequence of full and ſufficient information, cannot be criminal in individuals holding offices of reſponſibility, becauſe it is their duty to conform to the public will; and to the legiſlature itſelf it would be ſoleciſm and abſurdity to impute criminality. Of the impeachment of the duke of Ormond in particular, a nobleman of unblemiſhed integrity, of honor without a ſtain, equally diſtinguiſhed by courteſy and courage; no leſs the ornament of his country than its defence; the injuſtice appears groſs and manifeſt. Of all the charges adduced againſt the late miniſtry, the ſuſpenſion of arms, which was productive of conſequences ſo diſaſtrous and fatal, was one of the moſt, or rather was incomparably the moſt ſerious, and of the greateſt magnitude. But it cannot be pretended that the duke of Ormond could or ought to exerciſe any diſcretion in this caſe: His orders were peremptory and poſitive. And for any military commander to aſſume, under ſuch circumſtances, a diſpenſing power, and to preſume to act in open contradiction to the authority from which he derives his commiſſion, would indeed call for and juſtify a parliamentary impeachment. The duke ſeeing the ſpirit of faction and revenge ſo ſtrongly predominate in the proceedings againſt

againſt him, followed lord Bolingbroke to the continent; and both theſe noblemen, irritated by perſecution, and deſtitute of reſource, entered into the ſervice of the court at St. Germaine's, now removed to Commerci in Lorraine, which received by this means a dangerous addition of talents and ſtrength*. On his arrival in France lord Bolingbroke apologized in a letter to his friend lord Lanſdowne for his ſudden and abrupt departure: "You will," ſaid he, "excuſe me when you know that I had certain and repeated information, from ſome who are in the ſecret of affairs, that a reſolution was taken by thoſe who have power to execute it, to purſue me to the ſcaffold.

* Though lord Bolingbroke ſuffered himſelf to be engaged by earneſt ſolicitation in the ſervice of the pretender, and even accepted the ſeals as ſecretary of ſtate to that ſhadow of a king, while, as he expreſſes it, "the ſmart of a bill of attainder tingled in every vein;" on perceiving the hopeleſs condition of his affairs, and the weakneſs and diſtraction of his counſels, he willingly received, in about ſix months, his diſmiſſion from this unenviable pre-eminence. It is a curious circumſtance, that on leaving the pretender's ſervice this nobleman had articles of impeachment formally exhibited againſt him, branched out into the ſeveral heads of treachery, incapacity, and neglect: To which he made an elaborate reply, expreſſing, at the cloſe of it, his obligation to the pretender, for "cutting by this means that Gordian knot aſunder, by which he had conceived himſelf for ever bound to his intereſts, and which would have effectually precluded every idea of making his peace at home;" an event which from this time became the object of his inceſſant intrigues and ſolicitations. The duke of Ormond, who was much more in earneſt in his attachment to the exiled family, and who diſdained to court a reconciliation with that country by which he conſidered himſelf as treated with the higheſt injuſtice and ingratitude, retained, during the remainder of his life, his ſtation in the pretender's court, around the cheerleſs and contracted circle of which he alone reflected ſome ſcattered rays of luſtre. Previous to his departure from London he viſited, for the laſt time, the earl of Oxford, who diſſuaded him from flying with as much earneſtneſs as he intreated Oxford to make his eſcape. He at length parted from the earl with theſe words: "Farewell, Oxford, without a head." To which Oxford replied, "Farewell, duke, without a duchy."

fold. Had there been the leaſt reaſon to hope for a fair and open trial, after having been already prejudged unheard by two houſes of parliament, I ſhould not have declined the ſtricteſt examination. I challenge the moſt inveterate of my enemies to produce one inſtance of a criminal correſpondence, or the leaſt corruption of any part of the adminiſtration in which I was concerned."—The earl of Oxford, however, conſcious of the ſteadineſs of his attachment to the houſe of Hanover, of the king's real obligation to him, and of his knowledge of that obligation, determined to abide the fury of this political tempeſt; and the impeachment preferred by the commons being followed by a motion in the houſe of peers for his commitment, he roſe to ſpeak in his defence, obſerving "that the whole charge might be reduced to the negotiation and concluſion of the peace. That the nation wanted a peace," he ſaid, "no one would deny; and he averred, that the conditions upon which it was made were as good as the obſtinate and perverſe reluctance of the allies to concur in the queen's meaſures would admit: That it had been approved by two ſucceſſive parliaments: That he had acted by the expreſs commands of his ſovereign, without offending againſt any known law; and being juſtified in his conſcience, was unconcerned for the life of an inſignificant old man." The earl was attended to the tower by a prodigious concourſe of people, ſhouting, "High Church, Ormond and Oxford for ever!" And the riots and tumults which enſued in various parts of the kingdom, fully juſtified and verified the expreſſion of the earl of Angleſey, in the debate of this day, "that it was to be feared ſuch violent meaſures would make the ſceptre ſhake in the king's hands;" for which the houſe in its wiſdom inſiſted upon his making an apology. When the articles of impeachment were exhibited againſt the earl of Strafford, that nobleman complained

complained of the arbitrary and illegal ſeizure of his papers, and deſired a competent time to prepare for his defence; requiring for this purpoſe duplicates both of ſuch as had been laid before the committee of ſecreſy, and of thoſe remaining in the hands of government.—This requeſt, to the diſgrace of the ruling party, was vehemently oppoſed, until the earl of Ilay repreſented, "that in all civilized nations, all courts of judicature, *the inquiſition excepted*, allowed the perſons arraigned all that was neceſſary to their juſtification; and that the houſe of peers of Great Britain would not, he was perſuaded, in a caſe of this nature, do any thing contrary to that honor and equity, for which they were ſo juſtly renowned through Europe." The houſe, thus ſuddenly and powerfully awakened to a ſenſe of their own dignity, reſolved that the earl ſhould be allowed copies of ſuch papers as he might have occaſion to uſe in his defence.—Bills of attainder, in default of perſonal appearance, paſſed againſt the duke of Ormond and lord viſcount Bolingbroke. Their names and armorial bearings were erazed from the rolls of the peerage, by order of the houſe; and the duke's atchievements as knight of the garter taken down from St. George's chapel at Windſor: And from the addreſs of the ſpeaker to the king at the cloſe of the ſeſſion, which was protracted to the end of the ſummer, it does not appear that the anger of the houſe had ſuffered any abatement. "Your commons," ſaid the ſpeaker, Sir Spencer Compton*, "could not ſee without the utmoſt indignation the glories of her late majeſty's reign tarniſhed by a treacherous ceſſation of arms—the faith of treaties violated—that ancient probity for which the Engliſh nation had been juſtly renowned throughout all ages, expoſed to ſcorn and contempt.—Such

* Afterwards created Earl of Wilmington.

Such was the condition of the kingdom, when it pleaſed the divine Providence to call your majeſty to the throne of your anceſtors, under whoſe auſpicious reign, your commons behold with pleaſure the glory of the Plantagenets, your majeſty's royal anceſtors, revive, and have an unbounded proſpect of the continuance of this happineſs to the lateſt poſterity." A very great part of the nation being much inflamed with the late extraordinary proceedings, the partizans of the pretender were incited to exert themſelves with redoubled vigor and activity; and it was determined at one and the ſame time to take up arms in both kingdoms againſt the government. In the month of September 1715, the earl of Mar ſet up the ſtandard of rebellion, and proclaimed the pretender, under the ſtyle and title of king James III. at Caſtletown in Scotland, and ſoon collected an army of ten thouſand men. The vigilance of the government in a great meaſure rendered abortive the deſigns concerted by the adherents of the houſe of Stuart on the ſouth of the Tweed. The Habeas Corpus Act being ſuſpended, ſeveral noblemen were committed to the tower, amongſt whom were Lord Lanſdowne and the earl of Jerſey, who had engaged to join the duke of Ormond on his intended landing in the weſt. By previous conſent of the lower houſe of parliament, Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Harvey, and various other members of that houſe, were ſeized and committed to cloſe cuſtody, the bail of the duke of Somerſet, father-in-law to Sir William Wyndham, being peremptorily refuſed, and the duke himſelf, for ſome indiſcreet expreſſions of reſentment, removed from his place of maſter of the Horſe. Notwithſtanding, however, theſe ſpirited and reſolute meaſures of prevention, the earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Foſter appeared at the head of an armed force in Northumberland, and proclaimed the pretender at Warkworth, Penrith, Lancaſter,

caſter, and other places, in their progreſs to the ſouthward. At their arrival at Preſton, November 12, they were attacked by the king's forces under the generals Willes and Carpenter, who inveſting the town on all ſides, compelled them to ſurrender at diſcretion: And the very ſame day a bloody battle was fought, between the earl of Mar and the duke of Argyle, at Sheriff-moor, near Dumblaine in Scotland. The duke, apprized of the intention of the earl of Mar to croſs the Forth, in order to join the inſurgents in the Lowlands, haſtened to ſecure the paſſes of that river, which he himſelf croſſed at Stirling, and immediately took poſſeſſion, with a force not exceeding 4000 men, of the heights of Dumblaine. The earl of Mar now advanced to the attack; and the Clans of Glengary and Clanronald, which formed part of the enemy's right wing, ruſhed down upon the royaliſts, ſword in hand, with ſuch determined and irreſiſtible impetuoſity, that the left wing of the king's army was in a ſhort time entirely broke, and general Whetham, who commanded it, carried the news of his own defeat with incredible expedition to Stirling—declaring the ruin of the whole army to be inevitable. In the mean time, the duke of Argyle, who commanded the right wing in perſon, charged the enemy with the moſt heroic ardor, and drove them before him, about two miles, as far as the Loch of Allen, though they repeatedly attempted to rally. On his return from this purſuit, he was unexpectedly confronted by the victorious rebels on their return from the purſuit of Whetham: and each army found itſelf poſſeſſed of the ſtation occupied, in the early part of the engagement, by the adverſary. In this poſture they remained till evening, when the rebels returned to Ardoch, and the duke to Dumblaine; and next day marching back to the field of battle, he carried off the wounded, and ſeveral pieces of

cannon left by the enemy. Though the engagement was thus indecisive, all the honor, as well as advantage, of the fight, rested with the duke of Argyle, who, with a force so inferior, had entirely disconcerted the schemes of his antagonist by the most intrepid personal exertions.—Various successes were obtained also by the royalists in the northern parts of Scotland, where the loss of Invernes was very severely felt by the rebels; and Argyle being now joined by large reinforcements, it was with difficulty Mar kept the field till the arrival of the pretender in person, who landed at Peter-head Dec. 26th, and immediately issued various proclamations: One of which was for summoning a convention of the Estates; a second ordering all fencible men to repair to his standard; and a third fixing a day for his coronation. He cherished, however, no sanguine hope of success; "For me," said he, in a speech addressed to his friends convened in council, "it will be no new thing if I am unfortunate: My whole life, even from my cradle, has shewn a constant series of misfortunes, and I am prepared, if so it please God, to suffer the threats of my enemies and yours." In a very short time the folly and rashness of the enterprise became so apparent, that on receiving intelligence of the approach of the duke of Argyle, he resolved to embark on board a French ship lying in the harbor of Montrose, accompanied by the earls of Mar and Melfort, which stretching over to Norway, in order to avoid pursuit, and coasting along the shores of Germany and Holland, arrived in five days at Graveline: The rebel army retiring northward, quietly dispersed without making any farther effort, or receiving the slightest molestation. The extreme misconduct and want of capacity apparent in the whole of this enterprise, was decisive of the personal disposition and character of the claimant of the British crown; and the impolitic violence, which

which had hitherto predominated in the counſels of the new monarch, was happily compenſated by the wretched imbecility of his rival. " Should the pretender ever be reſtored, it was eaſy," Lord Bolingbroke tells us, " to ſee that the court of St. James's would be conſtituted in the ſame manner as that of St. Germain's." On being preſented with the draft of a declaration to be diſperſed in England, he took exception againſt ſeveral paſſages, and particularly thoſe by which a direct promiſe of ſecuring the churches of England and Scotland was made.—He was *told*," he ſaid, " that he could not, in conſcience, make ſuch a promiſe ;" and, on being farther urged to compliance, aſked with warmth, why the Tories were ſo deſirous to have him, if they expected thoſe things from him which his religion did not allow ?" And after conſulting his confidents and caſuiſts, the papers were at length printed, with amendments which exhibited the extreme of Jeſuitical prevarication, inſomuch that lord Bolingbroke abſolutely refuſed to counterſign them. Intoxicated with ſuperſtition and enthuſiaſtic zeal, all efforts were quickly perceived to be loſt on a man whoſe obſtinacy and prejudice were fortified by the native narrowneſs of his underſtanding. " His religion," ſays the nobleman juſt mentioned, " is not founded on the love of virtue, and the deteſtation of vice, on a ſenſe of that obedience which is due to the will of the Supreme Being, or of thoſe obligations which creatures formed to live in a mutual dependence on one another lie under. The ſpring of his whole conduct is *fear* ; he has all the ſuperſtition of a Capuchin, but I found in him no tincture of the religion of a prince ; and I converſed with very few among the Roman Catholics themſelves, who did not think him too much a papiſt." Although the rebellion in both kingdoms was thus happily and ſpeedily ſuppreſſed, the clemency of the king did not appear ſo conſpi-

cuous as might have been wiſhed, and reaſonably expected. The lords Derwentwater, Nithiſdale, and Nairne, with divers other noblemen, being tried in Weſtminſter-hall, received ſentence of death, earl Cowper preſiding as lord high ſteward. And notwithſtanding the affecting and urgent ſupplications of the counteſſes of Derwentwater and Nithiſdale, and lady Nairne, who threw themſelves at the king's feet, and implored his mercy, no mitigation of the ſentence could be obtained; and very many of the lower claſſes of the people fell a ſacrifice to the fatal deluſion of thoſe miſtaken principles which led them to engage in this revolt*, which might, in all human probability, have been eaſily prevented by the adoption of a more equitable and generous policy.—"Certain it is," ſays lord Bolingbroke, "if milder meaſures had been purſued, that the Tories would never have univerſally embraced Jacobitiſm: the violence of the Whigs forced them into the arms of the pretender, and dyed the royal ermines in blood." The king was, notwithſtanding of a diſpoſition by no means harſh or implacable. On the contrary, it was with extreme heſitation and reluctance that he concurred in the meaſures which he was aſſured were neceſſary to his ſafety. And we are told, that when lord Somers, who in a ſtate of great

* For the following curious anecdote we are indebted to the Rev. Mr. Macaulay's ingenious topographical hiſtory of the pariſh of Claybroke in Leiceſterſhire: One Paul, a clergyman, and vicar of Orton upon the Hill in that county, was tried and convicted, A. D. 1715, of high treaſon, he having joined the rebels at Preſton in Lancaſhire, and ſuffered, with the moſt undaunted reſolution, the utmoſt rigor of the law. On the Sunday previous to his departure he preached a ſermon at his own pariſh church, from Ezek. xxi. 26, 27. "Thus ſaith the Lord God, remove the diadem, and take off the crown. Exalt him that is low, and abaſe him that is high. I will overturn, overturn, overturn, and it ſhall be no more, until he come whoſe right it is, and I will give it unto him."

great corporeal infirmity ſtill retained his wonted powers of mind, was informed by lord Townſhend, with much exultation, that the king had at length conſented to all that was required of him, this aged and venerable patriot aſked him with great emotion, and ſhedding many tears, whether they meant to revive the proſcriptions of Marius and Sylla*. The miniſtry, perceiving and probably reſenting the general diſcontent and diſaffection of the people

* "All the traditional accounts of this nobleman," ſays Mr. Walpole, now lord Orford, who has delineated his character with great felicity, "the hiſtorians of the laſt age, and its beſt authors, repreſent him as the moſt incorrupt lawyer and the honeſteſt ſtateſman; as a maſter-orator, a genius of the fineſt taſte, and as a patriot of the nobleſt and moſt extenſive views; as a man who diſpenſed bleſſings by his life, and planned them for poſterity. Mr. Addiſon, who has drawn a labored but diffuſe and feeble character of him in the Freeholder, tells us that he gained great eſteem with queen Anne, who had conceived many unreaſonable prejudices againſt him. Mr. Addiſon might as well have ſaid that the queen had at firſt diſbelieved, and was afterwards converted to Sir Iſaac Newton's ſyſtem of comets. Her majeſty was full as good a judge of aſtronomy as of lord Somers's merits. The momentous times in which he lived gave lord Somers opportunities of diſplaying the extent of his capacity, and the patriotiſm of his heart.—The excellent balance of our conſtitution never appeared in a clearer light than with relation to this lord, who, though impeached by a miſguided houſe of commons, with all the intemperate folly that at times diſgraced the free ſtates of Greece, yet had full liberty to vindicate his innocence, and manifeſt an integrity which could never have ſhone ſo bright unleſs it had been juridically aſperſed. In this country happily the factious and the envious have not a power of condemning by a ſhell which many of them cannot ſign." To theſe excellent obſervations it may be permitted to add, that when we reflect on the firm and undaunted ſtand made by the houſe of lords on this and other intereſting occaſions againſt the democratic fury of the commons, we ſhall not be forward to applaud the wiſdom of thoſe by whom that houſe was once voted, or of thoſe who are now ready to pronounce it, uſeleſs. That there ſhould exiſt one ſovereign will only in a ſtate, is certain; but the legiſlative body in which this will reſides may, by a juſt and wiſe organization, contain within itſelf a principle of vigorous collision

people to a government which willingly concealed even from itself the desire of vengeance by which it was actuated, under the veil of loyalty and patriotism, now found or imagined the necessity of adopting a measure for the preservation of the public safety, which has been ever considered as the highest and most unconstitutional exertion of parliamentary authority attempted since the æra of the revolution; and if we except the act of Henry VIII. declaring the proclamations of the crown equal in validity to acts of parliament, and the perpetuity act of Charles I., it may not be too much to affirm, since the existence of parliaments. This was no other than the introduction of the famous *Septennial Bill,* in the session of 1716, by which the parliament not only assumed a power of prolonging the duration of future parliaments, but even its own: and being elected by the nation for three years, they elected themselves for four years more. As the discretion vested in parliament has however no precise

collision and controul. But we have lately heard much from certain presumptuous speculatists on the science of government, of the ridiculous folly and absurdity of permitting, under a free constitution, any portion of hereditary authority—or, to adopt their own phraseology "hereditary nonsense," to exist, however limited or modified; though it is remarkable, that previous to these recent discoveries in politics, wisdom was ever accounted the grand characteristic feature of aristocracy, as power of monarchy, and public spirit of democracy. And of the justness of this political axiom, not to appeal to ancient times, the celebrated republics of Venice and Berne exhibit at this day striking and obvious examples. Nor are the reasons,—the permanent causes of this permanent effect,—difficult to develop; but at present, in politics, as at no very distant period in philosophy, a pretended *common sense*, made up of audacity of assertion, and insolence of abuse, is to supersede all inductions of reason, knowledge, and experience. The harshness of this censure must however be qualified with the acknowledgment that in the writings now alluded to are to be found many important and interesting truths, expressed in language peculiarly striking and energetic.

precise limits, no one has ventured formally or judicially to impeach the validity of this act; and it has been truly urged in its favor, that it was in fact agreeable to the sentiments of a great and respectable part of the nation, who had long seen and deplored the evils attending the frequent recurrence of parliamentary elections under the present miserably corrupt, though long-established, modes of election; and who were convinced of the danger which must eventually have arisen from the dissolution of the present parliament at a juncture so critical. The bill, which originated in the house of peers, was opposed with great ability by divers noblemen, and in particular by the earl of Nottingham, who, disgusted and provoked by the intemperate conduct of the administration, had now quitted his connections with the Whigs. This nobleman observed, "that frequent parliaments were of the essence of the English constitution, and were sanctioned by the practice of ages; that the members of the lower house were delegated by the body of the nation for a certain term of years, at the expiration of which they were no longer the representatives of the people: that by thus lengthening, at their own pleasure, the duration of their own authority, they deprived the people of the only remedy which the wisdom of our ancestors had provided against the ignorance and corruption of those who might be tempted to betray the trust reposed in them: that as to the pretence of adding energy or stability to the foreign transactions or projected alliances of government, what prince or state could rationally entrust us with the care of their interests, when we appeared so ready to abandon our own? that the preamble of the bill itself might suffice to deter them from entering into engagements with our government, when they understood by it that the popish and jacobite faction was so powerful as to threaten destruction to the present establishment; and that the government

vernment acknowledged its weakneſs to be ſuch, as to make ſo extraordinary a proviſion neceſſary for its ſafety; when it appeared that the nation was not to be truſted, and that the affections of the king's ſubjects were reſtricted within the limits of the houſe of commons. He affirmed that a long parliament would encourage every ſpecies of corruption in every claſs of the community; that the value of a ſeat would bear a determinate proportion to the legal duration of parliaments, and the purchaſe would riſe accordingly; that a long parliament would both enhance the temptations, and multiply the opportunities, of a vicious miniſtry, to undermine the integrity and independency of parliaments far beyond what could occur if they were ſhort and frequent; that the reaſons urged for prolonging the duration of this parliament to ſeven years, would probably be as ſtrong, and by perſeverance in the ſame impolitic conduct, might be made much ſtronger before the end of that term, for continuing and even perpetuating their legiſlative power."

When this bill was tranſmitted to the commons, it had to encounter an oppoſition ſtill more vehement and formidable. No ſooner was it announced to the houſe, by two judges ſent from the peers, that their lordſhips had paſſed a bill for enlarging the time of the continuance of parliaments, to which they deſired their concurrence, than lord Guernſey moved to reject the bill without reading it. The houſe, however, determined by a great majority to receive it; and the bill being a firſt and ſecond time read, Mr. Shippen aroſe to oppoſe the commitment of it. He commenced his obſervations with remarking, "that he too well knew the hazard attached to every unguarded expreſſion in that houſe, to venture to ſay, that by any meaſures already taken—alluding to the late great augmentation of the land forces—we have paved

paved the way to a deſpotic and military government.—Such reflections, indeed, might be pardoned from perſons without doors, who are not able to enter into the depth and wiſdom of our counſels, and who preſume to cenſure what they cannot comprehend. But the preſent bill is yet unpaſſed, and we have as yet a right to inveſtigate its merits with freedom. It has been urged, that the diſaffection of the people is ſo great, and the enemies of the government both at home and abroad are ſo powerful, that a new election, at this period, may be deſtructive of its peace, and even of its ſafety. If this argument be applied to the miniſtry, it is enough to reply, that it is no concern of ours, whether they have rendered themſelves odious to the people or not—They may be deſtroyed, and the government ſubſiſt and flouriſh. But if it be applied to his majeſty, no argument could be offered ſo injurious to his honor. How is it that, in the infancy of his reign, he hath deprived himſelf of the love and affection of a people who ſo lately received him with every expreſſion of joy? But, admitting the fact, is this the way to extinguiſh the diſcontents already exiſting, or will it not rather increaſe and create freſh diſcontents? Agreeably to the law as it now ſtands, a diſſolution will not be neceſſary for a year and a half; and can national diſcontents be imagined to exiſt ſo long under ſo wiſe, ſo excellent, and ſo indulgent an adminiſtration as we now enjoy? Another reaſon for paſſing this bill is, that it may encourage our ancient allies to enter into new treaties, which, under the actual conſtitution of things, they may heſitate or refuſe to do. In order therefore to obtain the favor and friendſhip of thoſe nations in whoſe ſupport we have on ſo many occaſions laviſhed our treaſure and our blood, we muſt, it ſeems, alter the preſent frame of our conſtitution! What emotions of indignation muſt not the inſolence of this demand excite—eſpecially

cially if it happen to be urged by a ſtate which owes its very being to England, and which continues to ſubſiſt as a ſovereign power by our aid and protection! Sir, his majeſty, as king of Great Britain, is the arbiter of Europe, and may dictate to other nations, who will for their own ſakes court his friendſhip, and who have always found their account in the alliance of the crown which he now wears. The expence attending frequent elections has been alſo mentioned. But this is an argument which merits no attention. Every gentleman is a judge of his own circumſtances, and knows how far they are competent to the neceſſary expences of an election; for I will not ſuppoſe that the advocates of this bill can mean to extend this argument to *corrupt expences*, when the incorrupt, unbiaſſed and conſtitutional mode in which the elections of the preſent parliament was conducted is ſo *notorious*. The manner in which this bill has been introduced into the houſe, is itſelf a ſufficient reaſon for its rejection. It is ſent from the Lords; and as it relates merely to ourſelves, I apprehend it to be inconſiſtent with our honor to receive it. Our predeceſſors have ſhewn a determination to reſiſt all attempts to innovate on their privileges; and ſhall this glorious houſe of commons be content humbly to model themſelves at the pleaſure of the lords? Shall we tamely and meanly acquieſce in an attack that ſtrikes at the very foundation of our authority? But however unlimited our complaiſance, I humbly conceive we have it not in our power to conſent to this bill; for I cannot diſcover by what rule of reaſon or law we, who are only repreſentatives, can enlarge, to our own advantage, the authority delegated to us—or that by virtue of ſuch delegated authority we can deſtroy the fundamental rights of our conſtitution. This houſe has no legiſlative authority, but what it derives from the people. The members of this aſſembly were choſen under

under the triennial act. Our truſt is therefore a triennial truſt; and if we extend it beyond the ſtrict legal duration, we ceaſe from that inſtant to be the truſtees of the people, and are our own electors. From that inſtant, we act by an unwarrantable aſſumption of power, and take upon us to create a new conſtitution. For though it is a received maxim in civil ſcience, that the ſupreme legiſlature cannot be bound, yet an exception is neceſſarily implied, that it is reſtrained from ſubverting the foundation on which it ſtands. The triennial act, which reſtored the freedom and frequency of Parliaments, was a conceſſion made to the people by king William, in the midſt of his difficulties; and the policy of thoſe miniſters who may adviſe his majeſty to give his royal aſſent to the repealing of it, is of a nature too refined for my underſtanding. And as his majeſty has been pleaſed to propoſe that prince as a model to himſelf, and is emulous to imbibe his ſpirit and to equal his glory, it is a matter of aſtoniſhment to thoſe who are not in the ſecret of affairs, to ſee the ſalutary meaſures adopted on the moſt mature deliberation, with a view to the public good, in the reign of the former monarch, ſo eagerly and raſhly reſcinded in the very commencement of that of the latter. There muſt certainly be ſome latent cauſe for the precipitation with which this bill has been urged; there muſt be ſome ſecret meaſure in contemplation, which the miniſters of the crown ſuſpect will not ſtand the teſt of a new parliament. It muſt be ſomething, I repeat, hereafter to be done by them; for I will do them the juſtice to believe, that for all the manifold miſchiefs that have been done, they feel entirely at their eaſe—perfectly callous to the emotions of ſenſibility or remorſe. A ſtanding parliament, which it is the object of this bill to eſtabliſh, has been ſaid to reſemble a ſtanding pool, the waters of which grow, for want of freſh and free current, offenſive and fetid.

fetid. But the preſent parliament may more juſtly be compared to a torrent, which, in its furious and foaming courſe, deſolates the land, bearing down all the land-marks and ancient mounds which have been raiſed to confine it within its regular and accuſtomed banks."

After a variety of able ſpeeches from the moſt diſtinguiſhed members on both ſides of the houſe, Sir Robert Raymond, afterwards lord Raymond, and chief juſtice of England, concluded the debate with a comprehenſive reply to the arguments in favor of the bill, and a maſterly recapitulation of the objections urged againſt it, of which the multifarious particulars that demand a place in general hiſtory will ſuffer only a conciſe and curſory mention.— "The arguments for the bill were, according to the enumeration of this able ſpeaker, I. The expences attending frequent elections; II. The diviſions and animoſities excited by them; III. The advantages to be derived by our enemies from theſe domeſtic feuds; IV. The encouragement which this bill holds out to our allies to form with us more ſtrict and permanent connections. As to the expences of election, they were, he acknowledged, of late years, moſt alarmingly increaſed, and were become very grievous and burdenſome. They have increaſed, however, not from the conteſts of neighboring gentlemen with each other, but from the intruſion of ſtrangers, who have no natural intereſt to ſupport them, and coming no one could tell from whence, have recourſe to the ſcandalous arts of bribery and corruption, which have impoſed a neceſſity upon gentlemen to enlarge their expences, in order to preſerve their ancient and eſtabliſhed intereſts in their reſpective counties; and the impunity which the practice of bribery and corruption had too often met with in that houſe, he was compelled to add, had greatly enhanced the evil. But would any one aſſert that ſeptennial parliaments were competent to remedy

medy this evil? Would they not rather increaſe it? For thoſe that will give money to obtain a ſeat in parliament for three years, will give proportionably more for ſeven. No—not ſeptennial, but annual parliaments are the true conſtitutional remedy for this grievance: this was our ancient conſtitution, and every departure from it has been attended with inconvenience and injury. With reſpect to the animoſities and diviſions attending frequent elections, they are chiefly of a private nature, and little affect the public: ſuch as they are, however, this bill is more calculated to inflame than to extinguiſh them. But our moſt alarming and pernicious animoſities proceed certainly from a very different ſource—from the reſentment and ambition of ſome, from the folly and prejudice of others. That our enemies will take advantage of our diviſions whenever it is in their power cannot be doubted; but ſince the triennial act paſſed, ten ſucceſſive parliaments have ſat, two long and bloody wars have been waged, our factions ran high, and our enemies were vigilant; yet no ſuch inconveniences were felt as are now apprehended or alleged: nor were any attempts made by them, as far as I have heard, to our prejudice during the temporary ferments of thoſe elections. The laſt argument is deduced from the encouragement this will give to your allies to enter into treaties with you. Sorry ſhould I be to ſuppoſe we had any allies who refuſed to treat with us becauſe we refuſed to relinquiſh our conſtitution: were ſuch a requiſition to be made to them on our part, would it not be rejected on theirs with contempt and indignation? But the meaſure now propoſed is calculated not to ſtrengthen the hands of the executive power, but to leſſen its influence with foreign nations. Is it not to proclaim to the world that the king *dare* not to call a new parliament? that he *dare* not truſt the people in a new choice? And is not this a ſuppoſition diſhonorable alike to the

monarch

monarch and to the parliament now exiſting? It preſumes that another houſe of commons would act differently from the preſent, which implies that this houſe does not truly repreſent the people. Frequent parliaments are coeval with the conſtitution. In the reign of Edward III. it was enacted, that parliaments ſhould be holden every year once, and oftener if need be. This muſt be underſtood of new parliaments; for prorogations and long adjournments were not then known. Every long interruption of parliaments has been attended with miſchief and inconvenience to the public: and in the declaration of rights at the revolution it is aſſerted, as the undoubted right of the ſubject, that parliaments ſhould be held frequently; and the preamble of the bill, which we are now called upon to repeal, declares, 'that by the ancient laws and ſtatutes of the realm frequent parliaments ought to be held, and that frequent NEW parliaments tend very much to the happy union and the good agreement of the king and his people.' Before this repeal takes place, I hope it will be ſhewn in what conſiſts the error of thoſe aſſertions. Would the king eſtabliſh his throne in the hearts of his people, this is the moſt ſure and effectual way: for ſuch frequent appeals to the people generate confidence, and confidence is a great advance towards agreement and affection. Will not the people ſay with reaſon, if this bill ſhould paſs, that when the original term of delegation is elapſed, you are no longer their repreſentatives? In my opinion, with great ſubmiſſion I ſpeak it, king, lords, and commons, can no more continue a parliament beyond its natural duration than they can make a parliament. The wiſeſt governments, it is well known, have ever been the moſt cautious in continuing thoſe perſons in authority to whom they have entruſted the ſupreme power. A ſtanding parliament and a ſtanding army are convertible, and fit inſtruments to

ſupport

ſupport each other's powers. For theſe reaſons, and becauſe no ſtate neceſſity can be alleged or pretended for the paſſing of ſuch an act, at a time when the preſent parliament may be convened for two ſucceeding ſeſſions, I ſhall give my vote againſt the commitment of the bill." On a diviſion, the queſtion of commitment was carried in the affirmative by a majority of 284 againſt 162 voices.

While this memorable bill was pending in the houſe, various petitions were preſented againſt it: one, in particular, from the borough of Horſham, ſtating, 'that they looked upon this bill as an overturning of the conſtitution, and an infringement of their liberties,' gave ſuch an offence, that the houſe refuſed to receive it; and the general queſtion, *that this bill do now paſs*, was carried in the affirmative by a triumphant majority of 264 votes againſt 121; and on the 26th of June 1716, it received the royal aſſent, the king expreſſing in his ſpeech the ſatisfaction he felt at the proſpect of a *ſettled government*, ſupported by a parliament which had ſhewn ſuch zeal for the proſperity of their country, and the proteſtant intereſt of Europe. And his majeſty now deeming himſelf in a ſtate of perfect ſecurity, and being, by an act paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion, relieved from the diſagreeable embarraſſment of a clauſe in the act of ſettlement, reſtraining him from leaving the kingdom without the conſent of parliament, determined to reviſit his dominions in Germany, the ſtate of affairs on the Continent demanding his moſt ſerious attention.—Louis XIV. king of France, had terminated his long career, in the courſe of the preceding ſummer, September 1, 1715. For more than half a century, this monarch had reigned the dread and envy of Europe, and at no period ſince the foundation of the monarchy had France diſplayed

ſuch

ſuch power or ſplendor. During the continuance of the feudal ſyſtem, the authority of the monarch and the collective force of the monarchy were reſtrained and diminiſhed by the independent authority veſted in the nobles. When the regal authority was at length fully reſtored, and eſtabliſhed, by the inſidious and profound policy of Louis XI. the power of France was for a ſeries of years eclipſed by the ſuperior greatneſs of the houſe of Auſtria. But at the acceſſion of LOUIS XIV. the pride of that haughty family had been ſignally humbled by the genius of Richelieu and the arms of Guſtavus. Thus, by the dangerous policy of the laſt century, France was left without a rival, and Louis XIV. ſoon ſhewed himſelf of a diſpoſition to improve and extend that ſuperiority to its utmoſt limits. Vain, unfeeling, unprincipled, haughty, ambitious, the ruling paſſion of his life was the thirſt of GLORY *. For this he ſcrupled not to ſacrifice the repoſe of nations, and to deluge Europe in blood. A proſpect of the internal ſtate and condition of France under his government diſcovers an amazing contraſt of magnificence and wretchedneſs. In religion, a malignant and mercileſs bigot, he forced from their native homes, by the violence of his perſecution, myriads of the moſt induſtrious and virtuous of his ſubjects, the loſs of whom France yet feels and laments. From the impreſſion made, nevertheleſs, by the firſt rapid glances of hiſtory, his character appears in a variety of dazzling and

* In a letter written by LOUIS to the count D'Eſtrades, ambaſſador at the court of London, January 1662, he declares that the king of England, and his miniſter Clarendon, do not as yet ſufficiently know him—that he aims at GLORY, preferable to any other conſideration—that all motives of intereſt are as nothing to him in compariſon of a point of honor—and that he ſhall always be ready to hazard all, rather than tarniſh that GLORY at which he aims, as the principal object of all his actions.

and impoſing points of view. He was poſſeſſed of ſtrong natural powers of mind, and of great perſonal accompliſhments. He was generous, affable, condeſcending, a munificent patron, and rewarder of merit. Under his reign, great characters were formed, great public works both of ornament and utility conſtructed. Science and the arts flouriſhed under his auſpices, and a new Auguſtan age appeared. He ſuſtained the adverſe fortune of his later years with firmneſs and magnanimity. His heart, ſoftened by diſtreſs, ſeemed at length to feel for the diſtreſſes of his people: and he acknowledged, when too late to rectify his error, that he had formed miſtaken opinions reſpecting that *glory* which he had been ſo anxiouſly ſolicitous to acquire. His death took place at a critical moment, and the projects formed in favor of the houſe of Stuart, which were by its ableſt adherents, before that event, deemed "wild and uncertain," became, in conſequence of it, mad and deſperate. He was ſucceeded by Louis XV. an infant only five years of age, and the government of the kingdom was now veſted in the hands of the duke of Orleans, regent of France. This prince, who, in caſe of the death of the infant monarch, had juſt pretenſions, founded on the arrangements of the treaty of Utrecht, to the throne of France, dreaded with reaſon, notwithſtanding the act of renunciation, the competition of the king of Spain. And the ſituation of the king of England, who had alſo the deſigns of a reſtleſs rival to oppoſe, being analogous to that of the Regent, they concluded with an emulation of eagerneſs—all political difficulties being previouſly obviated by the ability and addreſs of the earl of Stair, now ambaſſador at Paris—a treaty of friendſhip and alliance for their mutual aſſiſtance and ſupport, to which the ſtates-general readily acceded. But in England, where diſtruſt and hatred of France were univerſally prevalent, it ex-

cited much murmur and ſurpriſe; nor would the nation eaſily be perſuaded to believe that the proteſtant ſucceſſion in England could derive any additional ſecurity from the officious or inſidious guarantee of France. The affair, however, which principally engaged the king's ſolicitude at this period, and which forms, indeed, the grand key to almoſt all the numerous and intricate negotiations, conventions, and alliances of the preſent reign, was the recent ceſſion of the Duchies of Bremen and Verden by Denmark, who had conquered them from the Swedes; and for which Denmark was to receive a certain equivalent in money from Hanover. Excluſive, however, of this pretended equivalent, the king of England, as elector of Hanover, undertook to guarantee to Denmark the Duchy of Sleſwic, conquered by that power from the duke of Holſtein, the ally of Sweden; his Daniſh majeſty thus wiſely parting with one half of his conqueſts, in order to eſtabliſh a permanent property in the other. This whole tranſaction the king of Sweden regarded as a moſt flagrant injury and inſult. And little regarding, in the vehemence of his anger, the diſtinction ariſing from the twofold character ſuſtained by his adverſary, as king of England and elector of Hanover, and well knowing that, in the mere capacity of elector, he would not have ventured to gratify his ambition ſo much at the riſque of his ſafety, he directed all the efforts of his vengeance againſt the Engliſh nation, who appeared to him to countenance this uſurpation, and whom he therefore conſidered as his determined and mortal enemies. In the ſummer of the preceding year, 1715, Sir John Norris ſailed with a ſtrong ſquadron to the Baltic, for the protection of the national commerce, which had ſuffered extremely from the hoſtile reſentment of the Swedes. The king of Sweden

was

was at this time deeply engaged in negotiations and intrigues with the Engliſh malcontents; and a project was formed for the invaſion of the kingdom, by that heroic and romantic monarch, at the head of a large body of forces, which would doubtleſs have been joined by great numbers of the diſaffected, who waited only a favorable moment for revolt. The king of England, who had received information from various quarters of this dangerous conſpiracy, on his return from the Continent, January 1717, cauſed the Swediſh ambaſſador count Gyllenburg to be arreſted. At the ſame time, baron Goertz, the Swediſh reſident in Holland, was alſo, by an exceſs of complaiſance for which it would not be eaſy to find a precedent, arreſted at the requiſition of the king by order of the ſtates: and in the papers of theſe two noblemen, which by a bold and irregular exertion of power were ſeized and ſearched, was found ample proof of their ſecret machinations. The foreign miniſters were not a little alarmed at this extraordinary procedure. And the marquis de Monteleone, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, in particular, expreſſed his aſtoniſhment and regret, that no other mode of preſerving the peace of the kingdom could be deviſed, than by arreſting the perſons of ambaſſadors, and ſeizing their papers—the ſacred repoſitories of their maſters' ſecrets. The ſecretary of ſtate, Mr. Methuen, ſtated the urgent neceſſity which had impelled the king his maſter to adopt a meaſure ſo contrary to his inclinations: and Baron Goertz openly avowed the whole project of the invaſion, of which he acknowledged himſelf the author, and which he ſaid "was amply juſtified by the conduct of the king of Great-Britain, who had joined the confederacy againſt the king of Sweden, without having received the leaſt provocation—who had aſſiſted the king of Denmark in ſubduing the Duchies of Bremen and Verden, and then

purchaſed them of the uſurper—and who had, in the courſe of this ſummer, ſent a ſtrong ſquadron of ſhips to the Baltic, where it joined the Danes and Ruſſians againſt the Swedes." The ſtates of Holland not venturing to detain the baron long in confinement, he proſecuted his deſigns with increaſe of zeal and earneſtneſs. Soon after the meeting of Parliament, February 1717, the king informed the houſe of commons, by a royal meſſage delivered by general Stanhope, of the danger which impended over the nation from the deſigns of Sweden, and demanded an extraordinary ſupply, to enable him to make good ſuch engagements as it might be neceſſary for him to contract with other powers, in order effectually to avert it. A ſupply of 250,000l. was accordingly voted, but by a perilous majority of *four voices* only, and not without vehement debate and oppoſition, chiefly in conſequence of an alarming diviſion in the adminiſtration, and the eventual ſeceſſion of various of its members, diſtinguiſhed equally by eminence of ſtation and ability—amongſt whom, lord Townſhend, ſome time ſecretary of ſtate, and lately appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, and Mr. Walpole, who had ſucceeded the earl of Halifax as firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, appeared moſt conſpicuous. The leaders of the ſeceſſion, by the faint and languid ſupport which thoſe who took any part in the debate gave to this motion, and the obſtinate ſilence of the reſt, ſufficiently ſhewed their diſapproval of the conduct of the court, which, for the ſake of an uſeleſs acquiſition of territory in Germany, ſcrupled not to involve Great Britain in an expenſive, dangerous, and deſtructive war. And it was now clearly perceived, though unfortunately at a period too late, that the ſeparation of the kingdom from the electorate ought to have conſtituted the baſis of the ſettlement of the crown upon the houſe of Hanover. The meſſage

was

was declared, by Mr. Shippen, to be unparliamentary and unprecedented; penned, he ſuppoſed, by ſome foreigner, totally unacquainted with their accuſtomed forms of procedure, and their invariable uſage of granting money only on eſtimate, and for certain ſpecified ſervices. And he aſked, what glorious advantages were to be obtained for England, which made it neceſſary to incur this expence, and to encounter this danger? Mr. Hungerford ridiculed the idea of courting, and much more of purchaſing, foreign alliances; and ſaid, that a nation ſo lately the terror of France and Spain was ſurely able to defend itſelf in any cauſe, which called for national exertion, from the attack of ſo inconſiderable an enemy as Sweden. General Stanhope, in the warmth of debate, aſſerting, "that none could refuſe compliance with this meſſage, but ſuch as were not *the king's friends*;" much offence was taken at this expreſſion by many members, far removed from the ſuſpicion of diſaffection: and Mr. Lawſon, member of Cumberland, obſerved, "that he was ſurpriſed to hear ſuch unguarded expreſſions fall from ſo reſpectable a perſon; and that if every member of the houſe who uſed freedom of ſpeech muſt be accounted an enemy to the king whenever he happened to diſapprove of the meaſures of his miniſters, he knew no ſervice they could render to their country in that houſe, and it were better at once to retire to their country-ſeats, and leave the king and his miniſters to act entirely at their diſcretion."

On the commitment of the bill, Mr. Pulteney, who had now reſigned his office of Secretary at war, proteſted that he could not perſuade himſelf that any Engliſhman had dared to adviſe his majeſty to ſend ſuch a meſſage; but he hoped that the houſe would not be ſwayed by German counſels; and that ſuch reſolutions would

be

adopted as would make a German miniſtry tremble *. It was again urged, that no occaſion did or could exiſt for entering into foreign alliances with a view of defending Great Britain from this danger; that we had an army and a fleet far ſuperior to any force that Sweden could in her preſent ſtate bring into action againſt us; that we were in actual alliance with France, from whoſe former connection with Sweden apprehenſions might otherwiſe have been entertained. But if the court perſiſted in aſſerting the neceſſity of new and foreign engagements againſt Sweden, it was doubtleſs requiſite to ſtate, ſince no one could pretend to conjecture, what thoſe engagements were. And the ſpeaker, who took part in the debate, declared, that no additional burdens on the public appeared at this time neceſſary. It was his opinion, therefore, that if the ſum now demanded were expended for our ſafety abroad, ſuch proportion of the national troops as equalled the amount of the expenditure ought to be diſbanded at home. Lord Finch, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Nottingham, reprobated in ſtrong terms this novel ſyſtem of politics. It appeared, as he alſo ſaid, from the memorial recently preſented by the Ruſſian miniſter, and by the anſwer which had been returned to the ſame, that ſuch meaſures were purſued as were likely to engage us in a quarrel with the Czar. To which general Stanhope replied, "that as for the inſtances which his majeſty has cauſed to be made with the Czar, and the meaſures he may have concerted to get the Ruſſian troops out

* Lord Townſhend was diſmiſſed from his office of lord lieutenant of Ireland on the evening of the day (April 9, 1717) on which the firſt debate and diviſion on this motion had taken place. And Mr. Walpole, Mr. Methuen ſecretary of ſtate, and Mr. Pulteney, delivered in their reſignations the next morning. Lord Cowper alſo relinquiſhed the great ſeal, and was ſucceeded by the earl of Macclesfield.

out of the Duchy of Mecklenburg, his majeſty has acted in all this as elector and prince of the empire; and he was perſuaded all the gentlemen here would agree with him, that the king's dignity, as king of Great Britain, was never underſtood to tie up his hands with reſpect to his intereſts in Germany, and as prince of the empire *." The fact itſelf nevertheleſs remained indiſputable, that the Germanic politics of the king had embroiled the kingdom of Great Britain in a dangerous conteſt, not only with Sweden but Ruſſia; for the Czar, paſſionately reſenting the conduct of king George, who vehemently oppoſed

* Early in the month of March 1717, the miniſter of the Czar preſented a memorial to the court of London, ſetting forth the ſolicitude of the Czar to conclude a treaty of amity with his majeſty, and to guarantee the Hanover ſucceſſion; and ſays, "And it was not the fault of his Czariſh majeſty that the ſaid negotiation was not brought to a happy concluſion. Although his Czariſh majeſty has lately obſerved, that ſeveral contrary ſteps have been taken by your majeſty's miniſters in many foreign courts, particularly at the court of Vienna and thoſe of Denmark and Pruſſia, as well as at the Diet of Ratiſbon, though his Czariſh majeſty had given no cauſe for ſuch meaſures, notwithſtanding that he had ſufficient reaſons to be upon his guard, and to provide for his own ſecurity, conſidering the general reports and the particular advices he had from many places that your majeſty is negotiating a ſeparate peace with Sweden, in which you promiſe your aſſiſtance againſt his Czariſh majeſty upon the condition of the ceſſion of Bremen and Verden, as it plainly appears by the letters lately publiſhed by the Swediſh miniſter." An anſwer was delivered to this memorial, dated April 2, 1717, which ſays, "As to the complaints contained in that memorial of the ſteps which his majeſty may have taken at ſeveral courts in Germany with regard to the Ruſſian troops in the empire; granting it to be true, that the Britiſh miniſters had acted with vigor at the ſaid courts, in order to procure the evacuation of the ſaid troops, his Czariſh majeſty ought not to be in the leaſt ſurpriſed at it, conſidering the ſtrict union which has ſo long ſubſiſted between Great Britain, the emperor, and the empire, which union has been confirmed and ſtrengthened the laſt year by a new treaty of alliance and guarantee between the emperor and the king."

oppoſed his favorite and invidious project of a ſettlement in Germany as a prince of the empire, and being at open variance with the king reſpecting the affairs of the Duchy of Mecklenburg, which in the view of his Britannic majeſty were inferior in importance only to thoſe of Bremen and Verden, now haſtily acceded to the preliminaries of a convention, which a ſhort time would probably have ripened into a definitive peace, through the dextrous intervention of baron Goerz, with his inveterate rival the king of Sweden, with whom he had been near twenty years at war; and aſſented to the project of elevating the Pretender to the throne of Great Britain. But the good fortune of the king of England, which throughout the whole courſe of his life was ever remarkable, delivered him from all apprehenſions, by the death of the king of Sweden, who was killed by a cannon-ball in the trenches before the fortreſs of Frederickſhall in Norway, November 30, 1718, O. S. an event which produced great political convulſions in Sweden, in the firſt ſhock of which baron Goertz loſt his head on the ſcaffold. This monarch was one of the moſt remarkable characters which the preſent or indeed any age has produced. Attacked in early youth, without pretence or provocation, by an ambitious and unprincipled confederacy of kings, he defended himſelf with heroic valor and glorious ſucceſs. But, intoxicated by a long and uninterrupted courſe of proſperity, inflamed with an eager deſire of revenge, and indulging wild and extravagant ideas of conqueſt, he refuſed with diſdain all terms of accommodation, and at length experienced a fatal reverſe of fortune, the calamitous conſequences of which Sweden ſtill moſt ſenſibly feels. Nevertheleſs the memory of this romantic monarch is held in high veneration by the Swedes, who yet celebrate the anniverſary of his

his birth with an enthuſiaſm due only to that of the great reſtorer of Swediſh liberty and independency, the illuſtrious GUSTAVUS VASA—a name profaned and inſulted by this commemoration: for a tyranny more oppreſſive than that of Charles XII. was never exerciſed, nor a ſubmiſſion more abject ever exacted by any monarch from any people *. The Czar, in conſequence of this unexpected

* The following portrait of this extraordinary man, drawn by the pen of genius, cannot but prove intereſting and acceptable:

On what foundation ſtands the warrior's pride,
How juſt his hopes, let Swediſh CHARLES decide:
A frame of adamant, a ſoul of fire,
No dangers fright him, and no labors tire;
O'er love, o'er fear, extends his wide domain,
Unconquer'd lord of pleaſure and of pain.
No joys to him pacific ſceptres yield:
War founds the trump—he ruſhes to the field;
Behold ſurrounding kings their force combine,
And one capitulate, and one reſign.
Peace courts his hand, but ſpreads her charms in vain.
"Think nothing gain'd," he cries, "till nought remain,
On Moſcow's walls till Gothic ſtandards fly,
And all be mine beneath the polar ſky!"
The march begins in military ſtate,
And nations on his eye ſuſpended wait;
Stern famine guards the ſolitary coaſt,
And winter barricades the realm of froſt.
He comes—nor want or cold his courſe delay;
Hide, blushing glory! hide Pultowa's day.
The vanquiſh'd hero leaves his broken bands,
And ſhews his miſeries in diſtant lands;
Condemn'd a needy ſupplicant to wait,
While ladies interpoſe and ſlaves debate.
—But did not chance at length her error mend?
Did no ſubverted empire mark his end?
Did rival monarchs give the fatal wound?
Or hoſtile millions preſs him to the ground?

His

pected event, though it prudent to desist from the farther prosecution of his hostile designs; and Bremen and Verden were left in the possession of Hanover, though the investiture of those Duchies by the emperor was still wanting to complete the validity of the purchase. This, therefore, now became the grand object of the attention and solicitude of the English court; and as the emperor, notwithstanding the recent renewal of treaties, affected delay and reluctance to comply with the eager applications of the English monarch, means were to be devised to obviate his objections, or at least to convince his imperial majesty how much it concerned the interests of the court of Vienna not to insist too strongly or pertinaciously on them. By the treaty of Utrecht the kingdoms of Naples and Sardinia were ceded to the house of Austria, together with Milan and the Low Countries; and the island of Sicily, with the title of king, to the duke of Savoy. The pride of Spain was, however, deeply wounded by this forcible dismemberment of her monarchy, though the experience of almost a century had shewn how little accession of strength she really derived from the possession of these detached and remote provinces, or rather how great an increase of weakness. Cardinal Alberoni, prime minister of Philip V. a man of a lofty and aspiring genius, which delighted to form bold and dangerous projects, at this time entertained the chimerical hope of re-uniting to the monarchy of Spain the kingdoms and provinces of which she had been divested. And the emperor being actually engaged in a war

His fall was destin'd to a barren strand,
A petty fortress, and a dubious hand:
He left that name at which the world grew pale,
To point a moral or adorn a tale.

JOHNSON's Im. of Juv. Sat. 10.

war with Turkey *, the Cardinal embraced the opportunity to equip a formidable armament, which failed from Barcelona July 1717, and landing at Cagliari, the capital of Sardinia, ſoon made an entire conqueſt of the iſland; pretending, as a reaſon for this invaſion, the previous violation of the moſt poſitive engagements on the part of the emperor, or, to adopt the haughty language of the court of Madrid, of the ARCH DUKE †.

The

* In this war the imperial arms, under the auſpicious conduct of prince Eugene, triumphed glorioufly over the Ottoman power. Servia and Croatia were added to the Auſtrian dominions; and "the Turkiſh moons wandered in diſarray" over the impurpled fields of Peterwaradin and Belgrade.

† It muſt be remarked, that no definitive treaty had taken place between Spain and the emperor ſince the war of the ſucceſſion, nor had the reſpective titles of theſe rival potentates been as yet reciprocally and formally acknowledged. "Greatneſs of ſoul," (ſays the Marquis de Grimaldi in his circular letter addreſſed to the miniſters of the ſeveral foreign courts) made his majeſty bear the diſmemberment of his dominions, which the plenipotentiaries would ſacrifice to the tranquillity of Europe. After which he perſuaded himſelf, that theſe ſtipulated ſacrifices would at leaſt have ſecured to him the reſt of this nation as glorious as afflicted. But no ſooner had he complied with the ſurrender of Sicily, in favor of the repoſe of Spain, upon the condition of the evacuation of Catalonia and the iſland of Majorca, than he found that the orders received for that purpoſe were concealed; and when at laſt it came to the knowledge of his allies, it was pretended that the treaty ſhould be executed, by virtue whereof his majeſty demanded the evacuation of the places. Nothing was more eaſy for that purpoſe than for the garriſons of the *Arch-duke* to have ſurrendered to the king's troops the gates of the places they poſſeſſed, in the ſame manner as was reciprocally practiſed among the potentates of Europe. But quite on the contrary, the generals of the *Archduke*, violating the public faith of treaties and the reciprocal engagements, abandoned the places to the Catalans, making them, at the ſame time, believe that they would ſoon return; and thereby fomented their diſquiet and rebellious ſpirit, ſo far as to induce them to think of a furious and obſtinate reſiſtance."

The emperor loudly complaining of this hoſtile, and, as he termed it, ſacrilegious attack, while his armies were combating the common enemy of the chriſtian faith; and the king of Spain profeſſing a willingneſs to ſubmit the juſtice of his quarrel to equitable arbitration, the king of England and the regent of France, in concert with the ſtates general, undertook the accommodation of theſe differences. And conferences being opened with the court of Vienna, the famous QUADRUPLE ALLIANCE was at length concluded, by which it was determined that Sardinia, now actually in the poſſeſſion of Spain, ſhould be transferred to the houſe of Savoy; and Sicily, a far more valuable poſſeſſion, ceded in exchange to the emperor. The claims of Spain were altogether diſregarded; only it was ſtipulated that the ſucceſſion to the Duchies of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, claimed by the queen of Spain as heireſs of the houſes of Medicis and Farneſe, ſhould devolve upon her eldeſt ſon in caſe of a failure of male iſſue: and three months only were allowed to the parties intereſted in theſe ceſſions to declare their acceptance or rejection *. Spain, as may be im-

* Although the regent of France, from his eager deſire to ſecure the friendſhip of England, and from perſonal animoſity to the king of Spain, entered entirely into the views of the Engliſh monarch upon this occaſion, he retained at the bottom all the Bourbon prejudices againſt the houſe of Auſtria. The principal obſtacle to the alliance concluded in 1716 between the two kingdoms, was the willingneſs of the Regent to aſſent to the expulſion of the Swedes, the ancient enemies of that houſe, from Germany. "I have," ſays the ambaſſador, lord Stair, in a diſpatch addreſſed to ſecretary Craggs, "all along endeavored to perſuade the Regent that, in the preſent ſtate of the kingdom of Sweden, it can be of no great uſe to France that that crown ſhould preſerve a foot in the empire; and that the true and ſolid balance againſt the emperor, and for preſerving the liberty of Germany, muſt be by making a cloſe conjunction among the Princes of the north of Germany. This thought, in general, pleaſes the Regent very well; but he does

imagined, was little diſpoſed to acquieſce in this ſettlement. And the propoſitions of general Stanhope, the Engliſh ſecretary of ſtate, who was himſelf inveſted with the character of ambaſſador extraordinary to the court of Madrid on this occaſion, were refuſed with diſdain. A ſtill more formidable armament than the former was now fitted out by the indefatigable exertions of the Cardinal, deſtined for the invaſion of Sicily; his Sicilian majeſty having concerted his own meaſures by a ſeparate negotiation with the court of Vienna; wiſely reſolving to ſubmit to terms, however diſadvantageous, which he found himſelf unable to oppoſe with effect. The Spaniards having landed their forces, conſiſting of 30,000 men, flattered themſelves with the ſpeedy reduction of this rich and beautiful iſland. But the king of England, in order to counteract the deſigns of Spain, had, with the con-

does by no means like the particular part of it, to deprive the crown of Sweden of their dominions in Germany." When affairs, after this, took a different turn; when jealouſies and diſſenſions aroſe between the emperor and the king of England, and hopes were entertained that England might be effectually detached from the Auſtrian intereſt; the court of Verſailles entered with more ſincerity, and even with apparent eagerneſs, into the projects of Hanoverian aggrandizement; ſenſible that the ſacrifice made by France was trivial in compariſon of the advantage gained. Lord Stair, at this period, had the generoſity zealouſly to intercede with the court of London for the pardon of the earl of Mar. After being, however, a conſiderable time amuſed with the hope of obtaining it, he met with a final and harſh repulſe. "Lord Mar," ſays the ambaſſador to Mr. Craggs, "is *outré* at the uſage he has met with. He ſays, our miniſtry may be great and able men, but that they are not ſkilful in making proſelytes, or keeping friends when they have them. I am pretty much of his mind. He was certainly determined to leave the Pretender's intereſt. He is now full of reſentment, and in moſt violent agitations." How ſtriking the contraſt between the policy of the Engliſh court in this reign, and that of Henry IV. of France, after his triumphs over the faction of the League! But every king is not a hero.

concurrence of parliament, though England had no imaginable motive to interfere in the diſtant ſcenes of contention, cauſed a formidable fleet to ſail for the Mediterranean, under the command of Sir George Byng, with peremptory orders to attack the Spaniſh fleet if engaged in any hoſtile enterpriſe againſt Naples or Sicily. The Britiſh admiral, on his arrival off Cadiz, tranſmitted by his Secretary a copy of his inſtructions to the Cardinal, who peruſed them with great emotion, and after ſome deliberation returned for anſwer, "that the chevalier Byng might execute the orders he had received from the king his maſter *." The admiral proceeding, therefore, on his voyage, caſt anchor with his whole fleet in the bay of Naples, where the magnificence of the ſpectacle drew immenſe multitudes of people to the ſurrounding ſhores, which reſounded with loud acclamations.

On

* The inſtructions of the admiral were as follow—"You are to make inſtances with both parties to ceaſe from uſing any farther acts of hoſtility; but in caſe the Spaniards do ſtill inſiſt with their ſhips of war and forces to attack the kingdom of Naples, or other the territories of the emperor in Italy, or to land in any part of Italy, which can only be with a deſign to invade the emperor's dominions, againſt whom only they have declared war by invading Sardinia; or if they ſhould endeavor to make themſelves maſters of the kingdom of Sicily, which muſt be with a deſign to invade the kingdom of Naples; in ſuch caſe you are with all your power to hinder and obſtruct the ſame. If it ſhould ſo happen, that at your arrival with our fleet under your command in the Mediterranean, the Spaniards ſhould already have landed any troops in Italy, in order to invade the emperor's territories, you ſhall endeavor amicably to diſſuade them from perſevering in ſuch an attempt; and offer them your aſſiſtance to help them to withdraw their troops and put an end to farther acts of hoſtility. But in caſe theſe your friendly endeavors ſhould prove ineffectual, you ſhall, by keeping company with or intercepting their ſhips or convoys, or if it be neceſſary, by openly oppoſing them, defend the emperor's territories from any farther attempt."

On receiving intelligence from count Daun, the viceroy, that Meſſina, the capital of Sicily, was reduced to the laſt extremity; he again weighed anchor, and on the 9th of Auguſt 1718 he came in ſight of the Faro of Meſſina, and diſpatched his own captain with a meſſage to the marquis de Lede, commander of the Spaniſh forces, propoſing a ceſſation of arms in Sicily for two months, that the powers of Europe might have opportunity to concert meaſures for reſtoring a laſting peace; declaring, at the ſame time, that ſhould this propoſal be rejected, he ſhould, in purſuance of his inſtructions, uſe all his force to prevent farther attempts to diſturb the dominions the king his maſter had engaged to defend. The Spaniſh general anſwered, "that he had no power to treat of an armiſtice, but ſhould obey his orders, which were, to reduce Sicily to the dominion of his maſter the king of Spain." On the 11th of Auguſt the Spaniſh fleet, conſiſting of twenty-ſeven ſail of the line, was deſcried off the coaſt of Calabria, lying-to in the order of battle; and though on the approach of the Britiſh ſquadron they bore away apparently with the view of maintaining a running fight, the ſuperior manœuvres of the Engliſh commander ſoon brought on a cloſe action, which before ſunſet terminated in the almoſt total deſtruction of the Spaniſh fleet; Don Caſtanita the commander in chief, and three other admirals, being captured. Captain Walton being detached by Sir George Byng, with five ſhips of the line, in purſuit of a diviſion of the Spaniards much ſuperior in force, acquainted the Engliſh admiral with the event of his undertaking, in the following memorable letter:—"Sir, We have deſtroyed all the Spaniſh ſhips and veſſels which were upon the coaſt, the number as per margin." Upon inſpecting the margin of this laconic epiſtle, no leſs than thirteen

thirteen ſhips of war of different deſcriptions were found compriſed in it. It is ſaid that rear-admiral Cammock, a native of Ireland, who commanded one of the diviſions of the Spaniſh fleet, propoſed to the commander in chief to remain in the road of Paradiſe, where the coaſt is bold and the anchorage good, with their broadſides towards the ſea, in order of battle: a poſition in which the Britiſh fleet might have been greatly annoyed from the batteries erected on ſhore; and the various and rapid currents would have prevented a cloſe and regular approach. But the evil genius of Spain predominated, and this propoſal was rejected. In reward of this great victory, Sir George Byng was raiſed to the dignity of the peerage by the ſtyle and title of viſcount Torrington, and received other diſtinguiſhed marks of the royal favor. But the court of Madrid exclaimed in the moſt paſſionate language againſt the conduct of England, as contrary to the law of nations, and a flagrant violation of the moſt ſolemn engagements; and orders were iſſued at all the ports of Spain and the Indies, for making repriſals upon the Engliſh; in conſequence of which, war was formally declared by England againſt Spain, which was ſoon followed by a like declaration on the part of the Regent of France.

Theſe tranſactions, however, did not paſs abroad without ſevere notice and animadverſion at home. In the ſeſſion of parliament which commenced Nov. 1717, the king had in his ſpeech aſſured the two houſes that his endeavors to preſerve the public tranquillity had not been unſucceſsful; and that he had reaſon to believe they would in the end produce their full effect. A conſiderable reduction of the army was in conſequence propoſed on the part of the miniſters, who contented themſelves with moving for 18,000 men only for the ſervice of the enſuing

enſuing year. Even this force was deemed by the oppoſition very unneceſſary, and an effort was in vain made to limit the number to 12,000. Mr. Walpole, in particular, declaimed with much energy on the danger of a ſtanding army in a free country; and he affirmed, that though a conſiderable proportion of the privates had been diſbanded, the officers had been retained; and the ſoldiers wanting to complete the ſeveral companies and regiments might be raiſed with beat of drum in twenty-four hours; ſo that a force double to what was intended by parliament was virtually veſted in the crown. And Mr. Shippen, in the courſe of a very able ſpeech, declared the expence attending the army to be the ſmalleſt objection to it. The chief argument againſt it was, that the civil and military power would not long ſubſiſt together. Far from being neceſſary to our protection, he apprehended ſo great a force to be inconſiſtent with our ſafety. In certain circumſtances an army might be neceſſary, but in ſuch circumſtances it was only to be choſen as the leſſer evil; for that, abſtractedly conſidered, it was an evil, every lover of liberty muſt acknowledge. "I know (ſaid this inflexible patriot that theſe aſſertions interfere with ſome paragraphs of his majeſty's ſpeech. But we are to conſider that ſpeech as the compoſition of the miniſters and adviſers of the crown, and we are therefore at liberty to controvert every propoſition in it, *particularly thoſe which ſeem calculated rather for the* MERIDIAN *of* GERMANY *than of* GREAT BRITAIN. *But it is the infelicity of his majeſty's reign, that he is unacquainted with our language and* CONSTITUTION; and it is therefore the more incumbent upon his Britiſh miniſters to inform him, that our government does not ſtand upon the ſame foundation with that which is eſtabliſhed in his German dominions. If we recur to the hiſtory of Europe, we ſhall find that the nations once free have loſt their liberties by allowing,

on ſome plauſible pretence of exigence, their princes to maintain an armed force during peace. They perceived, too late, that they had erected a power ſuperior to themſelves, and they now wear the chains which they forged for their own necks. The conſent of parliament is indeed alleged in favor of the army entruſted to the crown in this country. But the conſent of parliament cannot alter the nature of things, or prevent the ſame cauſes from producing the ſame effects. No art can diſguiſe from an army, however denominated, the knowledge of its own ſtrength; and the experience of the laſt century has taught us, that a parliament army may give as deep a wound to the conſtitution as an army of the crown. So long as the army, therefore, is continued, ſo long is the conſtitution ſuſpended; ſo long is it at the mercy of thoſe who command it."—During this ſpeech, Mr. Lechmere had taken down in writing thoſe marked expreſſions which ſeemed pointed not ſo much againſt the miniſters as the king: and when Mr. Shippen had ſat down, Mr. Lechmere immediately roſe and ſtated to the houſe that theſe words were a ſcandalous invective againſt his majeſty's perſon and government—ſuch as merited the higheſt reſentment of that houſe; and he therefore moved, that the member who had ſpoken them be committed to the tower. This motion was immediately ſeconded by Mr. Spencer Cowper, ſupported by Sir Joſeph Jekyl and various others; on which Mr. Walpole deſired that the member might be permitted to explain theſe raſh words, ſpoken in the heat of debate. But Mr. Shippen declared that he deſired no ſuch indulgence, and that the words needed neither explanation nor apology. The houſe in a flame immediately reſolved that the chairman leave the chair; and the ſpeaker reſuming his place, Mr. Farrer, member for Bedford, reported

ported from the committee the words ſpoken by Mr. Shippen; upon which Mr. Shippen withdrew. And the queſtion being put, "that the words ſpoken by William Shippen, Eſq. a member of this houſe, are highly diſhonorable to, and unjuſtly reflecting on, his majeſty's perſon and government," it was carried in the affirmative by 175 voices againſt 81, and the ſpeaker was ordered to iſſue his warrant for the immediate commitment of Mr. Shippen to the tower.

The ſeſſion cloſed in March; a few days previous to which, the king by a royal meſſage informed the houſe "that he had reaſon to judge from the information he had lately received from abroad, that an additional naval force would be neceſſary;" and an addreſs was moved and preſented, aſſuring his majeſty, "that the houſe would make good ſuch exceedings as his majeſty in his royal wiſdom ſhould deem neceſſary for the purpoſe of giving effect to his unwearied endeavors to preſerve *the peace of Europe*." No diviſion on this motion took place —Mr. Walpole alone obſerving, "that this *pacific addreſs* had violently the air of a DECLARATION OF WAR." The parliament again meeting Nov. 1718, the king, in his ſpeech, declared that the court of Spain had rejected all his amicable propoſals, and had broke through their moſt ſolemn engagements for the ſecurity of the Britiſh commerce. To vindicate therefore the faith of his former treaties, as well as to maintain thoſe he had lately made, and to protect and defend the trade of his ſubjects, which had been violently and unjuſtly oppreſſed, it became neceſſary for his naval forces to check their progreſs; that notwithſtanding the ſucceſs of his arms, that court had lately given orders at all the ports of Spain, and the Weſt-Indies, to fit out privateers againſt the Engliſh. He ſaid, that he was perſuaded a Britiſh parliament would enable him to reſent ſuch treatment; and he aſſur-

ed them that his good brother the Regent of France was ready to concur with him in the moſt vigorous meaſures. An addreſs of thanks and congratulation being propoſed, it was forcibly urged, that ſuch addreſs might be attended with the moſt ſerious conſequences, as ſtamping with the ſanction of parliament, meaſures which, upon examination, might appear equally contrary to the law of nations and the intereſts of Great Britain. And it was moved in the houſe of peers by lord Strafford, that the inſtructions of admiral Byng might be laid before the houſe. General (now created earl) Stanhope replied, that there was no occaſion to ſubmit the admiral's inſtructions to public diſcuſſion, as the treaties, of which the late ſea-fight was a neceſſary conſequence, had already received the approbation of parliament. He accuſed the court of Spain of a violation of the treaty of Utrecht and of public faith, in attacking the emperor while he was engaged in a war againſt the common enemies of Chriſtendom. He added likewiſe, that it was high time to check the growth of the naval power of Spain, in order effectually to protect the Britiſh commerce, which had been violently oppreſſed by the Spaniards. In the lower houſe, Mr. Walpole declaimed with much vehemence and energy againſt the late meaſures; and affirmed, that to ſanction them by the propoſed addreſs would anſwer no other purpoſe than to ſcreen from puniſhment the miniſters of the crown, who had dared to plunge the nation into a war with Spain, of which they now wiſhed to relieve themſelves from the reſponſibility. He declared that, inſtead of the entire *ſatisfaction* which they were called upon to expreſs, he would ſubſtitute an entire *diſſatisfaction*; for the conduct of adminiſtration had been both faithleſs and pernicious. And on a ſubſequent reſumption of the queſtion, Mr. Shippen, with unbroken

unbroken ſpirit, obſerved, " that there exiſted no neceſſity for involving this nation in a war, on account of any mercantile grievances, as there was every reaſon to believe they might be amicably redreſſed; and added, *that the war ſeemed to be calculated for another* MERIDIAN." The expreſſion, though amounting to a ſort of defiance, paſſed unnoticed; and Mr. Methuen, who had recently reſigned the ſeals, accounted and apologized for the dilatorineſs of the court of Spain, in reſpect to the mercantile grievances complained of from the multiplicity and diverſity of regulations which prevailed in the ſeveral provinces and ports of that kingdom*. An expreſſion in the anſwer of the Engliſh court to a memorial of the marquis de Monteleone, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, was animadverted upon as very extraordinary—it being therein ſtated, " That his majeſty the king of Great Britain did not ſeek to aggrandize himſelf by any new acquiſition, but was rather inclined to ſacrifice ſomething of his own to procure the general quiet and tranquillity of Europe." This was ſaid to be a very uncommon ſtretch of condeſcenſion. The king of Spain was to be tempted by an offer from England—which offer was ſuſpected to be the ceſſion of Gibraltar, or Minorca—to accede to the terms of the quadruple alliance, by which nothing was gained by England, and the great object of which was plainly the ſecurity of the king's German acquiſitions, and the aggrandizement of Hanover. The addreſs however was at length carried; but the commons thought proper to vote no more than 26,000 men for the entire amount of the ſea and land ſervice of the year.

Wholly

* Mr. Methuen, afterwards Sir Paul Methuen, had reſided ſeveral years in the quality of ambaſſador at the court of Liſbon, where he negotiated the famous treaty with Portugal known by the name of the METHUEN TREATY.

Wholly actuated by the blind and furious ſpirit of revenge, Cardinal Alberoni had by this time formed a raſh and romantic project for the elevation of the pretender, now received and acknowledged as king of England at Madrid, to the throne of Great Britain. And a new armament was equipped at Cadiz, on board of which 6000 regular troops, with arms for a much larger number, were embarked under the command of the duke of Ormond. Scarcely, however, had they reached Cape Finiſterre, but they were diſperſed and ſhattered by a violent tempeſt, which totally diſabled them from proſecuting their voyage. Two frigates only, with the earls Mareſchal and Seaforth and the marquis of Tullibardine, with 300 Spaniſh ſoldiers on board, arrived in Scotland, where they were joined by ſome clans of highlanders.—But on the approach of the king's forces the highlanders, after a vain though vigorous attempt to defend the paſs of Glenſhiel, diſperſed, and the Spaniards ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war. Meantime the efforts of the Engliſh arms abroad were attended with brilliant ſucceſs. In conſequence chiefly of the able and uninterrmitted exertions of Sir George Byng, and the powerful aſſiſtance which the Imperialiſts derived from the Britiſh fleet, the Spaniards were reduced to the humiliating neceſſity of evacuating the iſland of Sicily and Sardinia.—For though the marquis de Lede, notwithſtanding the deciſive victory obtained by Sir George Byng, had compelled the city of Meſſina to ſurrender, the Spaniſh army was effectually precluded, by the vigilance of the Britiſh admiral, from receiving any reinforcements or ſupplies by ſea. And on the other hand, a numerous body of Imperialiſts, commanded by the Count de Merci, was landed on the iſland under convoy of the Britiſh fleet; by the vigorous co-operation of which the city of Meſſina was recovered. On the approach of ſpring, Palermo

was

was inveſted, the Count de Merci marching acroſs the mountains, while the Britiſh fleet coaſted along the ſhore. The Marquis de Lede, who had retreated under the cannon of Palermo, now prepared to give battle to the Imperialiſts, although in his circumſtances a defeat muſt have proved fatal; when a felucca arrived with diſpatches from the court of Madrid, empowering the marquis to ſign a convention, by which Spain agreed to relinquiſh her pretenſions to Sicily; and the ſhattered remains of her troops were immediately embarked at Tauromini for Barcelona. Such was the juſt confidence placed by the king of England in the zeal and ability of the gallant officer inveſted with the high and arduous commiſſion thus proſperouſly terminated, that in reply to an application for inſtructions, his majeſty declared, "he would ſend him none, for that he well knew how to act without any." And the uniform ſucceſs attending all his enterpriſes, vulgarly aſcribed to fortune, a more juſt and accurate diſcernment, tracing the concatenation of events, perceived to be the natural conſequence of the wiſdom and vigor with which his meaſures were invariably planned and executed. During theſe tranſactions in Sicily, lord Cobham, with a conſiderable force, made a deſcent on Spain and took Vigo. Preparations alſo were making for an expedition againſt Spaniſh America; and an army of French, which had penetrated into Spain, under the duke of Berwick, reduced the towns of Fontarabia and St. Sebaſtian. So that the court of Madrid found itſelf attacked on all ſides, its ſchemes completely diſconcerted, and no reſource left but to accede, however reluctantly, to the terms of the quadruple alliance—the remaining differences between the emperor and the king of Spain being referred to a congreſs at Cambray, which, however, after a very long and tedious diſcuſſion, was at laſt diſſolved without coming to any terms of agreement

A treaty

A treaty of peace was now likewiſe concluded (November 1719), through the mediation of France, by the king of England, with Ulrica Queen of Sweden, ſiſter and ſucceſſor to Charles XII.; by which Bremen and Verden were ſecured to Hanover at the expence of a million of rix-dollars—a far more conſiderable ſum than the revenues of that electorate were generally deemed competent to diſcharge. This peace, entitled a peace between Sweden and Great Britain, was negociated and ſigned by a Hanoverian miniſter, one Adolph-Frederic Van Baſſawitz, who had the preſumption to engage, "in the name of his Britannic majeſty, both as king and elector, immediately to renew the ancient alliances and friendſhips, &c. &c. as alſo *the guaranties upon the foundation of the treaty of peace concluded amongſt the allies of the North, or which may be concluded or applied to the profit of the ducal houſe of Holſtein Gottorph*,"—or, in plain terms, he undertakes to guarantee Sleſwic to Denmark, Bremen and Verden to Hanover, and the eventual equivalent for Sleſwic to the duke of Holſtein. Early in the following year (1720) a treaty of alliance was concluded between the crowns of Great Britain and Sweden, by which his Britannic majeſty ſtipulated not only to furniſh the powerful ſuccors therein ſpecified, but to engage his friends and allies to contribute by ſubſidies and auxiliary troops "*ad coercendum Czarum Ruſſiæ*"—the expreſs words of the treaty. In both theſe treaties the loſſes ſuſtained by the Engliſh commerce in conſequence of the depredations of the Swedes, which formed the only plauſible pretext for involving Britain in this quarrel, were paſſed over unnoticed. And while the petition from the merchants was lying neglected and forgotten on the table of the houſe of commons, the ſum of 72,000l. in conſequence of a meſſage from his majeſty, was voted as a ſubſidy to Sweden. After all the indefatigable exertions and expenſive

penſive ſacrifices of the king of England to procure from the court of Stockholm the abſolute ceſſion of Bremen and Verden, and which was at length ſo happily and unexpectedly accompliſhed, the inveſtiture of thoſe duchies, of which he had been ſo long and eager an expectant, notwithſtanding the mighty ſervices rendered to the houſe of Auſtria, was not yet obtainable from the gratitude or condeſcenſion of the court of Vienna. On the contrary, the emperor ſeemed to think thoſe ſervices amply compenſated by the *protectorial commiſſion* with which that monarch had been recently inveſted by his imperial majeſty for the adminiſtration of the duchy of Mecklenburg—the duke of Mecklenburg being ſuſpended from his government, by a ſentence of the aulic council, for tyranny and mal-adminiſtration. And it is even aſſerted upon good authority, that this commiſſion was actually and formally exchanged at the court of Vienna, for the "INSTRUCTIONS of Sir George Byng." The affairs of Mecklenburg had long occupied a large ſhare of the attention of the king of England, who was ſtrongly ſuſpected of a deſign to add that Duchy to his other acquiſitions in Germany. And the duke of Mecklenburg, in his ſeveral memorials to the diet at Ratiſbon, openly charges the houſe of Lunenburg with aſpiring to the abſolute ſovereignty of LOWER SAXONY; and affirms that the troubles in his dominions have been continually fomented and inflamed by the court of Herenhauſen expreſsly with that view. But though the emperor was at little pains to conceal his diſlike and jealouſy of theſe deſigns, the neceſſity of his affairs compelled him to this conceſſion, which was apparently conſidered only as a prelude to a more firm and permanent poſſeſſion. The king of England, in purſuance of his engagements with Sweden, ſending in the ſummer of this year, 1720, a powerful ſquadron into the Baltic, the Ruſſians—knowing

knowing that the commander Sir John Norris had inſtructions ſimilar to thoſe under which Sir George Byng had lately acted—retired into their ports; and a peace was ſoon afterwards concluded between the crowns of Sweden and Ruſſia; not, however, without ſtrong marks of reſentment on the part of the Czar, at what he ſtyled "The inſolent interpoſition of Great Britain."

It will now be proper to revert to thoſe domeſtic occurrences, the relation of which has been interrupted by this recital of foreign tranſactions. The riots and tumults which were the natural conſequence of the meaſures adopted by the preſent miniſtry, broke out afreſh from time to time in various parts of the kingdom with alarming ſymptoms of diſaffection and violence. But the ſpirit of diſloyalty and ſedition ſeemed to diſplay itſelf at this period with more conſpicuous malignity at the city of Oxford than perhaps any other place; inſomuch that it was neceſſary by the government to ſtation there a conſiderable military force, between whom and the youth of the univerſity frequent occaſions of quarrel aroſe, ſome of which were of magnitude to come under judicial cognizance; and that ancient and venerable ſeat of the muſes ſeemed by a deplorable fatality to be converted into the temple of civil diſcord. On the return of the king from the continent numerous addreſſes of congratulation were preſented; amongſt which one from the univerſity of Cambridge, particularly noticing the ſuppreſſion of the late rebellion, was moſt graciouſly received. At a meeting of the vice-chancellor and heads of the houſes in Oxford, a motion being made for that purpoſe, it was rejected with marked indignation. Dr. Smalridge, biſhop of Briſtol and dean of Chriſt Church, had the preceding year been removed from his poſt of lord Almoner for refuſing, with Atterbury biſhop of Rocheſter, to ſign the proteſtation of the epiſcopal bench againſt the claims

of

of the pretender: this prelate now gratified his reſentment by declaring "that the rebellion had been long ſuppreſſed, and that there would be no end of addreſſes ſhould one be preſented every time his majeſty returned from Hanover—that any marks of royal favor they had received were more than counterbalanced by the troops now quartered upon them—and that the hiſtory of this country afforded no precedent for addreſſing a king on his return from his GERMAN DOMINIONS." As a deciſive proof of their alienation from the court, or rather the government, Sir Conſtantine Phipps, who on a ſtrong preſumption of diſaffection had been removed from his office as one of the lords juſtices of Ireland, had an honorary degree conferred upon him with marks of peculiar diſtinction: and the earl of Arran, on the attainder of his brother the duke of Ormond, was choſen to ſucceed him as chancellor of the univerſity*. The cry of "the CHURCH

* So marked at this period was that oppoſition of politics by which the two univerſities were long diſtinguiſhed, and all ſymptoms of which are not at this day entirely obliterated, that we cannot wonder the court ſhould embrace with eagerneſs every opportunity to diſplay its reſentment againſt the one, and its approbation of the other. A royal preſent of books having been ſent to Cambridge ſoon after the commencement of the tumults at Oxford, the celebrated Dr. Trapp took occaſion from this circumſtance to pen the following well-known Epigram:

Our royal maſter ſaw with heedful eyes
The wants of his two Univerſities:
Troops he to Oxford ſent, as knowing why
That learned body wanted loyalty,
But books to Cambridge gave, as well diſcerning
That that right loyal body wanted learning.

This Epigram received a very happy and deciſive retort from the late Sir William Brown, as it is ſaid, *impromptu*:

The king to Oxford ſent a troop of horſe,
For Tories know no argument but force.
With equal care to Cambridge books he ſent,
For Whigs allow no force but argument.

CHURCH and SACHEVEREL" ſeemed ſtill to retain its full efficacy and influence over the multitude; and the dwelling-houſes and meeting-houſes of the ſectaries were the favorite objects of the popular vengeance. In conſequence of theſe outrages the houſe of commons preſented an addreſs to the king, in which they ſtate, "that great numbers of his Majeſty's deluded ſubjects had aſſembled in a tumultuous and rebellious manner, had committed great diſorders, and done great injuries to others of their fellow-ſubjects and fellow-proteſtants—and they declare it to be their indiſpenſable duty to expreſs their utmoſt abhorrence of all ſuch traitorous proceedings, and their higheſt reſentment againſt the authors and promoters of them; and beſeech his majeſty, that the laws now in force may be put in ſpeedy and vigorous execution againſt them. And they farther deſire, that in juſtice to thoſe who for their zeal and firm adherence to his majeſty's government have been ſufferers in the ſaid tumultuous and traitorous diſorders, his majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to direct an exact account to be taken of the loſſes and damages ſuſtained by ſuch ſufferers, in order that full compenſation may be made; and aſſuring his majeſty that all expences ſo incurred ſhall be made good out of the firſt aids granted by parliament." To which the king replied, "that he would give immediate directions for putting in execution the ſeveral matters ſo juſtly recommended to him." This was followed by a very loyal and proper addreſs from the diſſenters themſelves, acknowledging the ſeaſonable protection granted them by government, and expreſſing "a grateful ſenſe of his majeſty's gracious anſwer to the addreſs of his faithful commons in favour of thoſe whoſe ſufferings they ſo juſtly impute to the zeal diſplayed by them for his majeſty's perſon and government. We deſire," ſay they, "nothing more than to enjoy our civil rights, with a full liberty

liberty to profeſs our own religious ſentiments, which we take to be a privilege due to all men. Nor know we any reaſon why we have now ſuffered from the outrages of diſaffected perſons, but becauſe we were known to be a body of men fixed in our duty to your majeſty." To this addreſs his majeſty replied in the moſt gracious terms, "expreſſing his deep concern at the unchriſtian and barbarous treatment which they had met with, and aſſuring them of his royal protection and a full compenſation for all their ſufferings." At this period the RIOT ACT paſſed for the prevention of ſimilar diſorders, declaring it to be felony for more than twelve perſons to remain aſſembled more than one hour after its being publicly read by the magiſtrate: and by the ſalutary operation of this law, the internal tranquillity of the kingdom was in a great degree reſtored and eſtabliſhed.

Notice has been already taken of the reſignation of Mr. Walpole, who had ſucceeded, on the deceaſe of the earl of Halifax*, to the high and important poſt of firſt lord commiſſioner of the treaſury. During his ſhort continuance in office he had exhibited a ſignal proof of his financial ability, in the introduction of the memorable

* The earl of HALIFAX ſurvived a very ſhort time only, his appointment as firſt lord commiſſioner of the treaſury, which office he had before ſuſtained with high reputation, during the latter years of the reign of king WILLIAM—dying after a few days illneſs, in the vigor of his age, May 19, 1715. It is believed that he aſpired to the poſt of lord high treaſurer, and was little pleaſed with the king's determination to put the treaſury into commiſſion. Though the abilities of this nobleman as a financier and a ſtateſman were unqueſtionably great, he is chiefly known to poſterity as a munificent patron of literature; maintaining in this reſpect an illuſtrious rivalſhip with the earl of Oxford, the head of the oppoſite faction; and in the ſpace of eighty intervening years, theſe noblemen have had, it is not enough to ſay, no equals, but no ſucceſſors. When, on the great and memorable change of adminiſtration, A. D. 1710, the earl of Halifax interceded with the earl of Oxford

ble bill which enacted, that all the public funds redeemable by law, and bearing higher intereſt than five per cent. be redeemed according to their reſpective proviſoes or clauſes of redemption, or, with conſent of the proprietors, be converted into an intereſt or annuity not exceeding five per cent. per annum, redeemable by parliament. And by this bill the joint ſurpluſſes ariſing, as well from the propoſed reduction of intereſt from ſix to five per cent. as from the exceſſes of the ſeveral taxes appropriated to the payment of the intereſt, were ſolemnly declared to be ſolely and unalienably applicable, under

Oxford in favour of the Engliſh Menander, Congreve, who, through the favor of Halifax, enjoyed a lucrative place under the government; Oxford, with great dignity and elegance, replied,

" Non obtuſa adeo geſtamus pectora Pœni,
Nec tam averſus equos Tyriâ ſol jungit ab urbe."

A very invidious caricature portrait of the earl of Halifax is to be found in the ſatires of Pope, under the name of Bufo:

" Proud as Apollo on his forked hill
Sat full-blown Bufo, puff'd by every quill;
Fed with ſoft dedication all day long,
Horace and he went hand in hand in ſong;
His library, where buſts of Poets dead,
And a true Pindar ſtood without a head,
Receiv'd of wits an undiſtinguiſh'd race,
Who firſt his judgment aſk'd—and then a place;
Dryden alone—what wonder! came not nigh,
Dryden alone eſcap'd this judging eye:
But ſtill the Great have kindneſs in reſerve—
He help'd to bury whom he help'd to ſtarve."

Pope has elſewhere taken pains to impreſs the idea, that this nobleman was a mere ſcioliſt in literature; and having matters of much more importance than poetry to engage his attention, it may eaſily be ſuppoſed that his criticiſms were often haſty and ſuperficial. The poetical remains of lord Halifax, it muſt be confeſſed, do little honor to his memory, except as they afford a proof of his early and devoted attachment

under the denomination of a SINKING FUND, to the diſcharge of the principal of the public debt contracted previous to the 25th of December of the preceding year 1716. Had this plan been as ſteadily proſecuted as it was wiſely concerted, the nation would have been ſoon relieved from her pecuniary difficulties. For, as in conſequence of the progreſſive redemption of the debt the ſurpluſſes muſt increaſe with accelerated rapidity, its internal energy, without ſtrict attention to the regular though complex mode of its operation, is wholly inconceivable. Of this plan of redemption it may with peculiar and ſtriking propriety be ſaid.

" Mobilitate viget, virefque acquirit eundo."
" ——— Every moment brings
New vigor to its flight, new pinions to its wings."

The immediate cauſe of the feceſſion of Mr. Walpole, whoſe example was followed by his friends, Mr. Methuen ſecretary of ſtate, and Mr. Pulteney ſecretary at war, afterwards ſo famous and ſo formidable as his antagoniſt, has been already intimated, and was now unreſervedly avowed to be his total diſapprobation of the continental politics of the court, which he perhaps deemed not merely injurious to the nation, but eventually hazardous to

ment to the muſes. There is however one beautiful paſſage, which well deſerves to be reſcued from oblivion, in his epiſtle to the earl of Dorſet, on the victory gained by king WILLIAM on the banks of the Boyne, in which that monarch received a ſlight contuſion from a muſquet ball, which grazed on his ſhoulder:

" O, if in France this hero had been born,
What glittering tinſel would his acts adorn!
Their plays, their ſongs, would dwell upon his wound,
And operas repeat no other ſound:
Boyne would for ages be the painter's theme,
The Gobelins' labor, and the poet's dream;
The wounded arm would furniſh all their rooms,
And BLEED for ever PURPLE in their looms."

to the ſafety of the miniſter who ſhould venture publicly to juſtify or ſupport them. For it did not at this time clearly appear how far the complaiſance of parliament would in time extend. Nor was it previouſly very credible that the intereſts of three powerful kingdoms ſhould be made entirely ſubſervient, by men choſen to guard and protect them, to the aſpiring views of a German electorate. But experience and obſervation taught this miniſter very different and much juſter notions of things. Mr. Walpole was ſucceeded in the treaſury at firſt by general Stanhope, who finding and ingenuouſly acknowledging his incompetency for that ſtation, ſoon reſigned to the earl of Sunderland, who had long aſpired to the poſſeſſion of it. Under this nobleman Mr Aiſlabie acted as chancellor of the exchequer; and the celebrated Addiſon was advanced in the room of Mr. Methuen to the poſt of ſecretary: but being found eſſentially deficient in the requiſite qualifications of a miniſter of ſtate, he reſigned, on the pretence of ill health and the fatigues of office, to Mr. Craggs. And General Stanhope, being created an earl, reſumed the ſeals of the foreign department, leaving Aiſlabie and Craggs to conduct the affairs of government in the houſe of commons; who, though men of good parliamentary talents, were conſidered only as ſecondary miniſters to the great efficient leaders, Sunderland and Stanhope. The earl of Oxford, who had now remained two years in the tower, was encouraged, by the defection of his moſt powerful adverſary, to petition the houſe of lords that his impriſonment might not be indefinite; and the houſe appointed an early day for his trial in Weſtminſter hall, for which the moſt ſolemn and magnificent preparations were made, earl Cowper preſiding, as on former occaſions, in the capacity of lord high ſteward. The articles of the impeachment being read, and Sir Joſeph Jekyl ſtanding up as one of the committee

committee of managers in the name of the houſe of commons of England to make good the firſt charge, lord Harcourt aroſe and obſerved, " that the articles of the impeachment being numerous, and two of them only extending to the charge of high treaſon, it was ſuperfluous to enter into the inveſtigation of the reſt till theſe had been decided upon; for, ſuppoſing him guilty of all, the utmoſt their lordſhips could inflict, or the earl could ſuffer, would amount to no more than the forfeiture of life and eſtate." The commons affected to reſent what they ſtyled an encroachment upon their privileges, and peremptorily refuſed to proceed in the order preſcribed by the lords. The lords, on their part, haughtily refuſed a *free conference* on this ſubject, as demanded by the commons: and on their non-appearance at the ſubſequent adjournment of the court, the earl was acquitted; not, as was generally believed, without the ſecret approbation and concurrence of the crown. The commons, however, preſented an addreſs to the king, deſiring that he might be excepted out of the intended act of grace; by which they expreſſed at once their ſenſe of the earl's demerit, and their contempt of their lordſhips' ſentence of acquittal. The act of grace accordingly paſſed with this and ſome other exceptions: and Oxford, to preſerve appearances, was forbidden to preſent himſelf at court, but no attempt was at any time made to revive the proceedings againſt him. By virtue of this act the lords Carnwath, Widrington, and Nairne, with many other perſons of diſtinction concerned in the late rebellion, were diſcharged. Lord Nithiſdale had previouſly effected his eſcape; the earl of Derwentwater and lord viſcount Kenmuir only ſuffering the utmoſt rigor of the law.

In the courſe of this year (1718) the attention of the public was excited in a moſt uncommon degree by a ſermon preached before the king at the chapel-royal, and

publiſhed at his expreſs command, by Dr. Benjamin Hoadley, lord biſhop of Bangor, "On the nature of the kingdom of CHRIST." As the foundation of this memorable diſcourſe, the biſhop ſelected the famous declaration of Chriſt to Pilate, the Roman procurator; "MY KINGDOM IS NOT OF THIS WORLD." And the direct and undiſguiſed object of it was, to prove "that the kingdom of Chriſt, and the ſanctions by which it is ſupported were of a nature wholly intellectual and ſpiritual—that the CHURCH, taking the term in its utmoſt latitude of ſignification, did not, and could not, poſſeſs the ſlighteſt degree of AUTHORITY under any commiſſion, or pretended commiſſion, derived from him: that the church of England, and all other national churches, were merely civil or human inſtitutions, eſtabliſhed for the purpoſes of diffuſing and perpetuating the knowledge and belief of chriſtianity; which contained a ſyſtem of truths, not in their nature differing from other truths, excepting by their ſuperior weight and importance; and which were to be inculcated in a manner analogous to other truths, demanding only, from their more intereſting import, proportionably higher degrees of care, attention, and aſſiduity in the promulgation of them." It is ſcarcely to be imagined in theſe times, with what degree of furious and malignant rancor theſe plain, ſimple, and rational principles were attacked by the zealots and champions of the church. On the meeting of the convocation, a committee was appointed to examine this famous publication; and a repreſentation was quickly drawn up, in which a moſt heavy cenſure was paſſed upon it, as tending to ſubvert all government and diſcipline in the church of Chriſt, to reduce his kingdom to a ſtate of anarchy and confuſion, to impugn and impeach the royal ſupremacy in matters eccleſiaſtical, and the authority of the legiſlature

to

to enforce obedience in matters of religion by civil ſanctions. A ſudden ſtop however was put to theſe diſgraceful proceedings, by a royal prorogation; and from this period the convocation has never been convened but as a mere matter of form, and for the purpoſe of being again prorogued. Perhaps, however, in theſe more enlightened times, this aſſembly might be again permitted to reſume its deliberative and legiſlative powers, with advantage to the community—and in no other aſſembly could propoſitions of eccleſiaſtical reform originate with ſo much effect or propriety. The controverſy which thus commenced, was carried on for ſeveral years with great ability and animation on the part of the biſhop, aided by various excellent pens, though oppoſed by men whoſe learning and talents gave an artificial luſtre to bigotry and abſurdity. No controverſy, however, upon the whole, ever more fully and completely anſwered the purpoſe intended by it. The obſcurity in which this ſubject had been long involved, was diſſipated. The public mind was enlightened and convinced. CHURCH AUTHORITY, *the chimæra vomiting flames*, was deſtroyed; and the name of HOADLEY will be tranſmitted from generation to generation, with increaſe of honor, of eſteem, and grateful veneration. It would be injuſtice alſo to deny to the king himſelf his ſhare of praiſe for countenancing and ſupporting opinions ſo oppoſite to thoſe which have uſually conſtituted a part of the policy of princes; and which reflect equal credit upon his underſtanding and integrity. As a far more important proof, however, of the liberal and benignant diſpoſition of this monarch, earl Stanhope, his favorite and confidential miniſter, preſented to the houſe of lords, December 1718, a bill for the repeal of the occaſional conformity and ſchiſm acts, paſſed under the late adminiſtration; and likewiſe ſuch clauſes of the teſt and corporation acts as operated to the

exclusion of protestant dissenters from civil offices. The latter part of the bill had an unexpected and formidable obstacle to encounter in the opposition of the lord Cowper, who joined the Tory lords in sounding the alarm of DANGER *to the* CHURCH, should the dissenters be admitted to the common rights and privileges of citizens in the state. Dr. Wake, archbishop of Canterbury, a prelate eminent for learning and general respectability of character, but who, since his elevation to the primacy, seemed to have lost sight in a great measure of those principles to which he owed his advancement, employed upon this occasion some arguments against the dissenters, which were considered by his former friends as not a little extraordinary. He affirmed, "That the acts this bill proposed to repeal were the main bulwarks of the English church; and though he had *all imaginable tenderness for well-meaning and conscientious dissenters*, he was compelled to say, that many of that persuasion had made a wrong use of the *favor and indulgence* shewn them at the revolution; it was therefore deemed necessary for the legislature to interpose, in order to put a stop to the scandalous practice of occasional conformity. As to the act against schism—the protest of the lords against which, reprobating, in the most indignant terms, that detestable statute, he had himself signed—his Grace added, that the repeal of it was SUPERFLUOUS, as no advantage had been taken of the act to the prejudice of the dissenters*."

In

* It might be imagined, from that "tenderness to well-meaning dissenters," which this prelate so ostentatiously professes, and which they no doubt are bound with suitable humility and gratitude to acknowledge, that the dissenters are a weak and ignorant people, entertaining absurd notions on subjects of high and general concern, and wholly destitute of learning and ability to defend their own principles. But of this, not the present times only, but "the centuries to come," will

In oppoſition to theſe *novel ſentiments* of his grace, the biſhop of Bangor demonſtrated " that the acts ſtyled by the archbiſhop the bulwarks of the church, under whatever falſe colors they might be diſguiſed, were acts of real perſecution: that if the *mere pretext* of ſelf-preſervation, or ſelf-defence, was once admitted as a ſufficient ground for paſſing laws of this nature, all the heathen perſecutions againſt chriſtians, and all the popiſh perſecutions againſt proteſtants, would be juſtified: that the church of England as by law eſtabliſhed ſtood not, and he truſted would never ſtand, in need of ſuch miſerable ſupports; that toleration was not a *favor*, or *indulgence*, but a natural right; and that the ſafety of the church was ſecured by no means ſo effectually, as by a regard to the juſt and equitable claims of their fellow-citizens. He added, " that the ardent and intemperate zeal which many diſplayed for the intereſts of the church, was, he feared, principally incited by a regard to their own intereſts, and by a ſecret and fond attachment to the power, the honors, and the emoluments which appertain to it.—

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will judge. As an amuſing contraſt to theſe ſentiments of archbiſhop Wake, it may not be improper to oppoſe thoſe of his venerable predeceſſor archbiſhop Tenniſon, who in the debate on the occaſional conformity bill, A. D. 1704, declared this decided diſapprobation of the meaſure. Far from conſidering occaſional conformity as " a ſcandalous practice," or " dangerous to the church," he affirmed, that it ought to be encouraged by all good churchmen, as having an evident tendency to conciliate the affections, and to moderate the prejudices, of the diſſenters; being in itſelf a laudable exerciſe of Chriſtian charity, and nowiſe incompatible with the ſtricteſt integrity. " The employing of perſons," ſaid this excellent prelate, " of a religion different from the eſtabliſhed in civil offices, has been practiſed in all countries where liberty of conſcience has been allowed. We have already gone farther in excluding diſſenters than any other country has done. Whatever reaſons there were to apprehend our religion in danger from papiſts, when the teſt act was paſſed, cannot be applicable to the diſſenters at preſent. On the contrary, manifeſt inconveniences reſult from this excluſion."

The desire of power and riches was, he owned, natural to all; but reason and religion ought to restrain men from indulging it, to the injury or prejudice of others; or in any manner inconsistent with the general rights and liberties of mankind." These sentiments of the bishop of Bangor were strongly enforced by Dr. Kennet bishop of Peterborough, who declared his opinion, that the repeal of the acts in question would not be detrimental to the church, but would redound to her advantage and security. He affirmed that the evidence of history proved the church to be most safe and flourishing when the clergy did not affect more power than appertains to their share, and were tender of the rights and liberties of their fellow-subjects: but that arbitrary measures and persecutions first brought, as the experience of the last century sufficiently evinced, scandal and contempt upon the clergy, and, at last, ruin both upon church and state. The CHURCH, said this prelate, is, I admit, a term of sacred and venerable import, and therefore it is, that in the mouths of bigots, or of malicious and designing men, it has produced such fatal effects. 'The TEMPLE of the LORD—the TEMPLE of the LORD are WE,' was of old the boast of the seditious and abandoned among the Jews, and was used as a color and incentive to every evil purpose. The bishop said, that the dissenters, though the most zealous promoters of the revolution, had hitherto been no gainers by it; for it was well known that they enjoyed the full benefits of toleration under king James. And he stated as a gross political absurdity, that they were incapacitated by the test from serving that government of which they were allowed to be the firmest friends; and alluding to what had passed in the course of the debate, he declared, that he hoped it would not be thought sufficient, in opposition to the plainest dictates of justice and equity,

equity, which called aloud for the repeal of theſe acts, to ſay, " that the example of SWEDEN was otherwiſe."

In this memorable debate, no one diſtinguiſhed himſelf more than lord Lanſdowne, who had imbibed in all their virulence the antient principles of Toryiſm; who had been a ſteady and inveterate enemy to the Hanoverian ſucceſſion; and who was happy to embrace this occaſion of pronouncing an invective againſt the diſſenters, replete with malignant and ſarcaſtic wit, and breathing a ſpirit which, unreſtrained by external cauſes, would doubtleſs have diſplayed itſelf in all the terrors of the moſt ſanguinary perſecution. This nobleman declared, " That he always underſtood the act of toleration to be meant as an indulgence for tender conſciences, not a licenſe for hardened ones—and that the act to prevent occaſional conformity was deſigned only to correct a particular crime of particular men, in which none were included but thoſe followers of Judas who came to the Lord's ſupper for no other end but to ſell and betray him. It is to me (ſaid his lordſhip) a matter of aſtoniſhment, to hear the merit of diſſenters ſo highly extolled and magnified within theſe walls. Who is there among us, but can tell of ſome anceſtor either ſequeſtered or murdered by them? Who voted the lords uſeleſs? The diſſenters.—Who aboliſhed epiſcopacy? The diſſenters.—Who deſtroyed freedom of parliament? The diſſenters.—Who introduced government by ſtanding armies? The diſſenters.—Who waſhed their hands in the blood of their martyred ſovereign? The diſſenters.—Have they repented? No.—they glory in their wickedneſs at this day. That they have remained not only quiet, but have appeared zealous in the ſupport of the preſent eſtabliſhment, is no wonder: for who but themſelves, or their favorers, have been thought worthy of countenance? If univerſal diſcontent pervades at this time all ranks of people throughout the nation,

nation, the reaſon is plain, flagrant, and notorious. It ariſes from the inſolence and the preſumption of the diſſenters—from their open inſults of the clergy—from their public vindication of the murder of king Charles I. and their vile reflections upon the memory of queen Anne, ever dear to the people of England; beſides other indecent and arrogant provocations, too many to enumerate, too grievous to endure. And if all this is done, not only with impunity, but with authority and reward, is there not more than ſufficient reaſon for jealouſy? a jealouſy, which this new attempt to break down all the fences and boundaries of the church at once, will certainly have no tendency to extinguiſh. If indeed (concluded his lordſhip) there are individuals amongſt them who pretend to peculiar merit, let them ſtand forth, and clearly and explicitly ſtate their claims—for GOD forbid but that all of them ſhould have their deſerts!"—If at this diſtance of time, and on a cool and impartial review of facts, we are compelled ſeverely to cenſure the conduct of the whigs, now exerciſing the entire powers of government, as exhibiting plain indications of the rage and hatred characteriſtic of a political faction, it is not difficult to conjecture, from this and ſimilar ſpecimens of Tory eloquence, to what far more dangerous extremes of violence the oppoſite faction, if triumphant, were prepared to reſort. The ſpeculative principles of the Whigs alſo being in their own nature juſt, beneficent, and generous; the ſpirit of their adminiſtration, after the firſt emotions of rancor and revenge were gratified, became inſenſibly mild, eaſy, and equitable; whereas, had the Tories gained a permanent aſcendency, the certain foundation would have been laid of an internal and everlaſting ſyſtem of oppreſſion, diſtraction, and calamity.

After long debate, the houſe agreed to leave out the clauſes reſpecting the corporation and teſt acts; in which

ſtate

ſtate it was tranſmitted to and paſſed by the commons; and in the royal ſpeech, at the cloſe of the ſeſſion, his majeſty expreſſed the higheſt ſatisfaction at this ſignal inſtance of legiſlative wiſdom and moderation*.

Previous however, to the receſs of parliament, a bill was unexpectedly brought in, under the ſanction of the government, for limiting the peerage, by reſtraining the crown

* Sir Robert Walpole, at this time in oppoſition, with a view to embarraſs the meaſures of the court, ſpoke and voted againſt this repeal: and he is ſaid frequently to have expreſſed, in the latter years of his life, his regret at having joined in the clamors of the high church party on this occaſion. Lord Cheſterfield, then a very young man, and in the ſervice of the prince of Wales, who at this period countenanced the oppoſition, voted on the ſame ſide with more ſincerity: "I thought it (ſays he) impoſſible for the honeſteſt man in the world to be ſaved out of the pale of the CHURCH, not conſidering that matters of opinion do not depend upon the will—that it is as natural and allowable that another man ſhould differ in opinion from me, as that I ſhould differ from him; and that if we are both ſincere, we are both blameleſs, and ſhould conſequently have mutual indulgence for each other." It may be tranſiently remarked, in anſwer to the virulent accuſations of Lord Lanſdowne, that it is the height of folly, as well as injuſtice, to charge the acts of Cromwell's uſurpation upon the diſſenters or preſbyterians of the laſt century—when it is notorious, that they oppoſed them to the utmoſt of their power—and that 200 members of the houſe of commons of that denomination were ſecluded by military violence from the houſe before the ordinance paſſed for the trial of the king. Had the condemnation of that mercileſs and perfidious tyrant—for ſuch, notwithſtanding his boaſted private and perſonal virtues, he undoubtedly was—reſulted from the unbiaſſed will of the nation, future ages might have applauded the act, though, as perpetrated by a deſperate and lawleſs faction, in oppoſition to the public will, it is indeed the ſubject of juſt abhorrence. Let the guilt of the individuals concerned in this tranſaction, however, be what it may; why are we, who have only an hiſtorical knowledge of the fact, and who live in another age of the world, called upon to expreſs our penitence and contrition for it? Certainly, the ſervice of the 30th of January is a political farce, upon which the wiſdom of government ought long ago to have dropped the curtain.—There is indeed a charge omitted by lord Lanſdowne, but which might be

crown from enlarging the preſent number of peers by more than ſix new creations. This was generally conſidered as a meaſure not ſo much of policy as of reſentment on the part of the crown, eagerly and intemperately deſirous to excite the chagrin, and diminiſh the political importance, of the prince of Wales, who had highly offended the court by the ſupport he had for ſome time paſt given to the oppoſition. The court influence, weakened by the late ſeceſſion, and in this inſtance oppoſed by the general ſenſe of the nation, which ſaw its tendency to elevate the ariſtocracy, and by the *eſprit du corps* of the houſe of commons, was however found, upon trial, not ſufficiently powerful to carry this favorite but very exceptionable project into effect: and the bill, after being withdrawn by lord Stanhope in order to its revival with greater force the enſuing ſeſſion, when it paſſed the lords with very little difficulty, was ultimately rejected by the commons, not without evident marks of indignation; the diviſion on the queſtion of commitment being 269 to 177 voices.

Mr.

be properly urged againſt the diſſenters, as containing not fictitious, but real culpability. It is that, poſſeſſing the authority and confidence of the nation in the convention parliament of 1660, they had the unpardonable weakneſs to reſtore king Charles II. to the crown, without any previous limitations or conditions. Let the idolizers of kings, who have hearts to feel, if not underſtandings to be convinced, view the intereſting and affecting portrait now in the poſſeſſion of lord Elliot, of his illuſtrious anceſtor Sir John Elliot, who, with many other diſtinguiſhed patriots, was, for his noble exertions in the cauſe of liberty, committed to the Tower, after the diſſolution of the laſt of the early parliaments of Charles I. He is drawn pale, languiſhing, and emaciated—but diſdaining to make the abject ſubmiſſion required of him by the tyrant, he expired under the exceſſive rigors of his confinement, leaving this portrait as a legacy and memento to his poſterity and to mankind; who, in the contemplation of ſuch enormities, have reaſon to rejoice

"When vengeance in the lurid air
Lifts her red arm expos'd and bare."

Mr. Walpole particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the animation of his oppoſition to this bill. By an alluſion *happily imagined*, he compared the two houſes of parliament to the temples of Fame and Virtue, and obſerved that, " among the Romans, the former was placed behind the latter, to denote that fame was no otherwiſe attainable than by virtue. But if the preſent bill paſſed into a law, one of the moſt powerful incentives to virtue would be taken away. He affirmed that this bill would not only operate as a diſcouragement to merit, but would endanger the conſtitution: that the peers were already poſſeſſed of ſufficient privileges; but that the propoſed limitation of their number would prodigiouſly enhance their authority, and in time reduce the commons to a ſtate of ſervile dependency: that he was aſtoniſhed their lordſhips could preſume to ſend ſuch a bill to that houſe, or that they could flatter themſelves it would ever receive their concurrence, or expect that they would voluntarily exclude themſelves and their poſterity from the honors of the peerage. And he thought it a very injurious and ungrateful return in one, who had himſelf been advanced to a participation of thoſe honors for his public ſervices, to endeavor, on his admiſſion to the houſe of peers, to bar the door againſt future claimants."

In alluſion to this bill, the king, in his ſpeech from the throne, had uſed theſe remarkable expreſſions: " As I can truly affirm that no prince was ever more zealous to increaſe his own authority, than I am to perpetuate the liberty of my people, I hope you will think of all proper methods to eſtabliſh and tranſmit to your poſterity the freedom of our happy conſtitution; and particularly to ſecure that part which is moſt liable to abuſe." And by an expreſs meſſage to the lords, when the bill was pending, his majeſty declared, " That he had ſo much at heart the ſettlement of the Britiſh peerage, upon ſuch a foundation

foundation as might ſecure the freedom and conſtitution of parliaments in all future ages, that he was willing his prerogative ſhould not ſtand in the way of ſo great and neceſſary a work." Certainly it would be harſh and uncandid to aſcribe this apparent generoſity of ſentiment to the excluſive influence of invidious motives; but it may well be doubted whether the remedy propoſed by the miniſters of the crown, for the abuſe ſo reaſonably apprehended, and which time has contributed rather to ſtrengthen than impair, might not in its conſequences be productive of political inconvenience ſtill more ſerious than the evil it was intended to obviate.

In the ſeſſion of 1719, alſo, the celebrated declaratory bill, for the better ſecuring the dependency of Ireland upon the crown of England, was introduced and paſſed; in which the ſupremacy of the appellant juriſdiction of the Engliſh houſe of peers, and the right of the Engliſh parliament to make laws to bind the kingdom of Ireland in all caſes whatſoever, were aſſerted in a high tone, in conſequence of the refractory ſpirit which had lately diſplayed itſelf in various inſtances in that kingdom. Nor was it conceivable at this period, by any effort of political ſagacity, that Ireland would be in a ſituation, before the termination of the century, to extort from England an entire and abſolute renunciation of theſe haughty and unjuſt pretenſions. The parliament of Ireland aſſembling July 1, 1719, the duke of Bolton, lord lieutenant of that kingdom, in his ſpeech, ſtrongly urged the neceſſity of guarding againſt the deſigns of the diſaffected, and declared, that it would be very pleaſing to his Majeſty, if any method could be found, not inconſiſtent with the ſecurity of the church, to render the proteſtant diſſenters more uſeful and capable of ſerving his majeſty, and ſupporting the proteſtant intereſt, than they now are—they having upon all occaſions given ſufficient proofs of their being

being well affected to his majeſty's perſon and government, and to the ſucceſſion of the crown in his royal houſe. And this his excellency declared he was expreſsly ordered to lay before the legiſlature, as a thing greatly importing his majeſty's ſervice, and the national ſecurity. In conſequence of this interpoſition, an act paſſed to relieve the diſſenters from certain penalties inflicted by the exiſting laws; but the repeal of the ſacramental teſt, to which the king plainly extended his views, could not be obtained by any effort of regal influence from the equity or complaiſance of the preſent parliament*.

About

* Nearly at this period the earl of Stair, who had ſerved his country for ſeveral years with diſtinguiſhed ability, as ambaſſador at the court of Verſailles, was recalled in conſequence of a political difference between him and the lords Stanhope and Sunderland, reſpecting the famous Law, raiſed by the regent to the comptroller generalſhip of the finances, and whoſe credit at the French court, from the knowledge of his miſchievous deſigns, the ambaſſador had labored to ſubvert. In a letter to Mr. Secretary Craggs, dated February 14, 1720, he vindicates his public character and conduct with great ſpirit, and in a manner highly characteriſtic of his well known firmneſs and elevation of mind. A few ſentences it may be permitted as the privilege of a note to tranſcribe.—"If (ſays he) lord Stanhope has not gained Mr. Law, I am afraid we ſhall not find our account in his lordſhip's ſupporting him, when he was ready to fall—in making him firſt miniſter, and recalling me from this court, where my long ſtay ſhould have enabled me to be better able to judge of their deſigns, and of their ways of working, than a ſtranger of greater capacity could poſſibly be. After the uſage I meet with, I do not wonder to ſee that our miniſters have ſo few friends. As to my revocation, if it was poſſible I ſhould have a mind to ſtay in this country, you have made it impracticable—you have taken all the effectual ways to deſtroy any perſonal credit I had with the regent—you have made it plain to him, that I have no credit with the king—you are under a neceſſity of ſending therefore another miniſter to this court.—As to the matter of my revocation, I do not care to make the grimace of deſiring it for falſe reaſons. I expect nothing, and I fear nothing.—As to my behavior when I come home, I ſhall ever be a faithful ſervant to the king, and act as a man in whom the love of his country is ſuperior to all other conſiderations." *Hardwicke State Papers.*

About this period, the famous South-ſea bill was introduced into the Britiſh houſe of commons, by Mr. Aiſlabie, chancellor of the exchequer; the earl of Sunderland preſiding at the board of treaſury; and, after long and able diſcuſſion, received the royal aſſent, April 7th, 1720. By this bill, which propoſed eventually to reduce all the different public ſecurities into one grand aggregate fund, the South-ſea company was inveſted with certain commercial privileges, and authorized to take in, by purchaſe or ſubſcription, both the redeemable and irredeemable debts of the nation, to the amount of about thirty-three millions, at ſuch rates and prices as ſhould be agreed upon between the company and the reſpective proprietors—a clauſe propoſed in the houſe of commons, for aſcertaining what ſhare of the capital ſtock of the company ſhould be veſted in thoſe proprietors of government ſtock, who might voluntarily ſubſcribe, being moſt unwiſely rejected. In return, the company conſented that the intereſt upon their original capital of 9,400,000l. as well as the intereſt upon the public debts, to be redeemed in the mode preſcribed by the preſent act, ſhould, after Midſummer-day 1727, be reduced to four per cent. redeemable by parliament; and excluſive of this reduction, the company agreed to pay into the exchequer four years and a half purchaſe of all the long and ſhort annuities that ſhould be ſubſcribed, and one year's purchaſe of ſuch long annuities as ſhould not be ſubſcribed; amounting, on the execution of the act, to no leſs than ſeven millions; for raiſing which ſum, they were impowered to open books of ſubſcription, to grant annuities redeemable by the company, and to convert the money ſo raiſed into additional ſtock. It is evident, from the wild and extravagant terms of this contract, that it was never meant to be ſeriouſly fulfilled. In vain did the ſagacity of Walpole diſcern, and his eloquence diſplay, the mighty miſchiefs contained

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in this caſket of Pandora. In vain did he urge the acceptance of the equitable and rational propoſals of the bank. The houſe was faſcinated by the dazzling and magnificent appearance of the South-Sea project; and the bill paſſed with general applauſe, and by a vaſt majority of votes, 55 members only dividing againſt it. But in a ſhort time this myſtery of iniquity began to unfold itſelf. The moſt artful and inſidious methods were put in practice to delude the public with the notion of the vaſt emoluments eventually to be derived from the commercial intercourſe which it was pretended would, with the conſent of the court of Madrid, and as an equivalent for the ceſſion of Gibraltar and Minorca, be eſtabliſhed with the empires of Mexico and Peru. The ſucceſſive ſubſcriptions filled with amazing rapidity; and the court of directors declaring a dividend of 30 per cent. for Chriſtmas 1720, and 50 per cent. for no leſs than twelve years after, the transfer price of the company's ſtock advancing in proportion to the public demand, roſe from 130, which was the price it bore while the bill was depending in parliament, in a very ſhort ſpace of time to 1000; by which means an opportunity was offered, to thoſe who were concerned in the project, or rather the plot, to make immenſe fortunes, before the burſting of this mighty bubble. And the ſtock falling with the ſame, or even greater rapidity, than that with which it had riſen; vaſt numbers of adventurers—and ſuch was the general infatuation, that upon this occaſion the whole nation ſeemed to have become adventurers—awaking from their golden dreams of proſperity, found themſelves reduced to a ſtate of the moſt deplorable diſtreſs and ruin. On a parliamentary inveſtigation of this dark and dangerous buſineſs, which was ſtyled, in the report of the ſecret committee, "a train

of

of the deepeſt villainy and fraud Hell ever contrived for the ruin of any nation;" it appeared, that transfers of the company's ſtock, to a very great amount, had been made to perſons high in office, to facilitate the paſſing of the bill—that the ſcandalous artifices practiſed by the company, and their ſhameleſs abuſe of the public confidence, had received not only the connivance but the encouragement of ſeveral, at leaſt, of the miniſters: and lord Sunderland and Mr. Aiſlabie were compelled to a precipitate and diſgraceful reſignation of their offices—the latter being alſo expelled the houſe, and committed to the tower. Mr. Craggs, ſecretary of State, was exempted only by the ſtroke of death, from a ſimilar fate: and many other perſons of figure and conſequence, who were found, on inquiry, more or leſs culpable, were variouſly puniſhed; though, in the opinion of the exaſperated public, not with an adequate degree of ſeverity. Nevertheleſs, the houſe acted with a ſpirit and unanimity on this great occaſion, which reflected upon their proceedings the higheſt honor; and ſufficiently manifeſted the indignation they felt, at having been, under ſpecious pretences, made the unintentional inſtruments of an injury ſo extenſive, and a deception ſo dreadful.

Mr. Waller, ſon-in-law to Aiſlabie, to whom South-Sea ſtock to an immenſe amount had been transferred, had preſerved no minutes of his tranſactions; and pretended, on his examination, that he could not recollect for what perſons or purpoſes he had accepted it. Sir John Blount, accounted the original projector, and one of the moſt guilty agents in this buſineſs, refuſing to anſwer certain interrogatories put to him in the houſe of lords by the duke of Wharton; and being ſupported ſomewhat too peremptorily in his refuſal, by lord Stanhope; the duke maliciouſly obſerved, that the government of the beſt princes was ſometimes rendered intole-

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rable to their ſubjects by bad miniſters—mentioning the example of Sejanus, who had made the reign of Claudius hateful to the Romans. Conſcious of the unſullied rectitude of his conduct, lord Stanhope, in a tranſport of anger, roſe to ſpeak in his own vindication; and in conſequence of the vehemence of his exertions, was ſeized with a ſudden illneſs, which compelled him to retire: and after a ſhort interval of languiſhment and inſenſibility, he expired in the evening of the next day, extremely regretted by his ſovereign, and poſſeſſing the general eſteem and regard of the nation *. On the deceaſe of this nobleman, and the compulſive reſignation of Sunderland, a new arrangement of adminiſtration was formed; and Mr. Walpole, lord Townſhend, lord Cowper, and Mr. Methuen, now reconciled to the court, were re-inſtated with great *eclat* in their former or other principal offices: and from this period, Mr. Walpole—who being in the progreſs of royal favor inveſted with the order of the Garter, aſſumed the title of Sir Robert Walpole—muſt be regarded as prime miniſter †.

* The king, as the counteſs of Cheſterfield, who was preſent on the occaſion, related to the reſpectable author of the "Memoirs of the earl of Cheſterfield," received the intelligence of this nobleman's death when at ſupper; and not being able to ſuppreſs the emotions of his grief, he roſe from table, and retired—his eyes being ſuffuſed with tears. Lord Stanhope died, Feb. 1721. Sir Robert Walpole's commiſſion, as firſt lord of the treaſury, bore date April 2, 1721.

† Though a real and very important difference of opinion was believed to exiſt in the cabinet, previous to the ſeceſſion, on the ſubject of continental politics; the animoſities of the Whigs, it muſt be remarked, may be traced to another and much leſs honorable ſource—the inſatiable ambition of the earl of Halifax, divided the court into two oppoſite and hoſtile parties. Lord Stanhope, who poſſeſſed the entire confidence of the king, and who had acquired a great aſcendency over him, was much diſpoſed to favor the views and was himſelf manifeſtly under

Through the judicious and vigorous reſolutions adopted by parliament, in purſuance of his recommendations, public credit was ſpeedily and effectually reſtored. Knight, Caſhier of the South-Sea company, for the apprehending of whom a royal proclamation had been iſſued, had eſcaped at a critical moment to the Continent; carrying with him the famous *Green Book*, which was ſuppoſed to contain the entire ſecret of the tranſaction. Being arreſted at Tirlemont, by the vigilance of the Engliſh reſident at Bruſſels, application was made to the marquis du Prie, governor of the Low Countries, to deliver him up to juſtice. But anſwer was unexpectedly made

der the influence, of the artful Sunderland. Walpole and Townſhend, finding themſelves excluded from the ſecret counſels of the king, and becoming every day more inſignificant, determined upon a reſignation. A vehement mutual reſentment and averſion from this time ſubſiſted between Stanhope and Walpole, which broke out on one occaſion in an altercation and reciprocal crimination in the houſe of commons ſo violently, that the houſe was obliged to interpoſe its authority, to prevent any diſaſtrous conſequences. And Mr. Hungerford obſerved, "that it became the members of that houſe, after the Oriental faſhion, to avert their countenances, while theſe two great men, the fathers of the ſtate, were thus expoſing each other's nakedneſs." After the diſgrace of Sunderland, and the death of Stanhope, no ſhadow of competition remained; and Townſhend and Walpole were inveſted with the full powers of government. But no ſooner had they attained the ſummit of their wiſhes, than a violent jealouſy aroſe between theſe quondam friends; and the influence of Walpole at length prevailing, lord Townſhend, after a long-protracted ſtruggle, reſigned his offices, and retired to his eſtates in Norfolk; where he paſſed his remaining years highly reſpected, amuſing himſelf, and benefiting the country around him, with his agricultural experiments—to which there is an alluſion in one of Pope's epiſtolary imitations of Horace—"All Townſhend's turnips, and all Groſvenor's mines." But theſe court-intrigues are amongſt thoſe arcana of ſtate, which lie too deep for "men of common minds" to diſcuſs. They are unfathomable myſteries, ſacred as thoſe of the *Bona Dea*; PROCUL ESTE PROFANI.

made by the imperial court, that this could not be done, conſiſtently with the privileges of the ſtates of Brabant—for by an article of the *Joyeuſe Entrée*, no perſon, againſt whom a criminal accuſation is brought, can be removed for trial out of the province. It was thought that, in a caſe of this momentous nature, his imperial majeſty, for whom England had conquered kingdoms, might have prevailed upon the ſtates to wave their privilege: and very preſſing inſtances were anew made, for the ſurrender of Knight. But, in the interim, he effected a ſecond eſcape from the citadel of Antwerp—and in the ſequel, he received a free pardon. Vehement ſuſpicions, therefore, aroſe, that Knight's evidence was too deciſive to be produced; and that the late miniſter had ſtill ſufficient influence to ſcreen himſelf from that puniſhment, which the whole nation believed him to merit, and from which his ſuperior adroitneſs of management only protected him.

Lord SUNDERLAND did not long ſurvive his diſmiſſion from his high office; but died April 1722, leaving behind him a character which bore a ſtriking analogy to that of his father—bold, reſtleſs, inſidious, faithleſs, ambitious, excelling in all the arts of courtly addreſs, and diſtinguiſhed by his extent of political knowledge and ſagacity, though he attained not to the dignity of true wiſdom, which is inſeparably connected with rectitude of heart and conduct. Nearly at the ſame time expired the celebrated JOHN duke of MARLBOROUGH, to whom Sunderland was cloſely allied, by marriage with his eldeſt daughter. So variouſly has the character of this great man been delineated, that it is no eaſy taſk clearly to aſcertain the truth. With reſpect to political probity, however, he ſeems not inferior to the generality of his cotemporaries. He has been accuſed of baſe ingratitude

in the deſertion of his royal maſter and benefactor, king James II. But this deſertion took place at a time when it was not unattended with danger: and there appears in his conduct, at that great political criſis, nothing inconſiſtent with the ſuppoſition that his motives were laudable and patriotic. And ſurely no private obligation can be of force to ſuperſede the duties we owe to our country. It is, indeed, far more difficult to juſtify the correſpondence which he afterwards carried on with the abdicated monarch: but this guilt he appears to have ſhared with ſo many other diſtinguiſhed, and, upon the whole, reſpectable perſons, that it cannot be imputed to him as a ſubject of peculiar reproach. The truth is, that a ſecret ſuſpicion and apprehenſion pervading the minds of the bulk of the nation, that the exiled family would, by ſome revolution in politics, be one day reſtored, as in the perſon of king Charles II. it had once before been; many, perhaps a majority of thoſe who acted a conſpicuous part in public life, allowed themſelves, by a too lax political morality, to entertain a clandeſtine correſpondence with the court of St. Germaine's, with a view to avert the effects of its indignation in caſe the actual ſtate of things ſhould be reverſed, but who were far from wiſhing to contribute to the acceleration of ſuch a cataſtrophe. And it is evident that the court of St. Germaine's was the perpetual dupe of theſe egregious artifices. The military talents of the duke of Marlborough tranſcend all praiſe, and may be ſet with advantage in competition with thoſe of any commander ancient or modern *. To Marlborough alone, no one has ventured

* When prince Eugene was in England, during the adminiſtration of lord Oxford, being one day entertained at the table of the lord treaſurer, that miniſter politely remarked, that he might congratulate himſelf

ventured to impute either error or misfortune. In his political capacity, he was a moſt able and ſucceſsful negotiator: and though, in conſequence of his early initiation into the brilliant and diſſipated circles of the court, neceſſarily and groſsly illiterate; all defects of this nature were more than compenſated by the native excellence of his underſtanding, the faſcination of his manners, and his profound knowledge of mankind—the fruit, not of abſtract ſpeculation, but of actual obſervation and long experience. His perſon was eminently graceful, and his countenance noble and engaging: his diſpoſition was mild, his deportment affable, and the general tenor of his private ſocial life regular and unblemiſhed. He has been, indeed, uſually repreſented as deeply tinctured with the vice of avarice: but though he was, doubtleſs, eager in the accumulation of riches, it does not appear that he degraded the dignity of his ſtation and character, by the parſimony of his expences. And he is known to have reſiſted with firmneſs and magnanimity the immenſe offers made to him in the name of Louis XIV. by the marquis de Torcy at the conferences of Gertruydenberg. In the laſt years of his life he exhibited an affecting proof of the imbecility of human nature and the vanity of human greatneſs *—leaving upon the public mind an impreſſion of compaſſion, which the unexampled

ſelf on having for his gueſt the firſt general in Europe: to which his highneſs, in alluſion to the recent diſgrace of the duke of Marlborough, replied, That if it were ſo, it was to his lordſhip he was indebted for the pre-eminence.

* "In life's laſt ſcene what prodigies ſurpriſe!
Fears of the brave, and follies of the wiſe!
From Marlborough's eyes the ſtreams of dotage flow,
And Swift expires—a driveller and a ſhow."
Johnson's Im. of Juv. Sat. 10.

pled pomp of his funeral obſequies did not tend to weaken.

A vehement controverſy having recently ariſen on the ſubject of the TRINITY, chiefly in conſequence of the learned tracts publiſhed in oppoſition to the eſtabliſhed doctrine by the famous profeſſor Whiſton, the univerſity of Oxford in full convocation reſolved "that the ſolemn thanks of that body ſhould be returned to the earl of Nottingham, for his moſt noble defence of the Catholic faith, contained in his anſwer to Mr. Whiſton's letter concerning the eternity of the ſon of GOD and of the Holy Ghoſt." And at the inſtance of this theological ſtateſman, a bill was introduced into the houſe of peers for the ſuppreſſion of blaſphemy and profaneneſs; which enacted, that if any one ſpoke or wrote againſt the being of a GOD, the divinity of Jeſus Chriſt or the Holy Ghoſt, the doctrine of the Trinity, the truth of the Chriſtian religion, or the divine inſpiration of the ſcriptures, he ſhould ſuffer impriſonment for an indefinite term, unleſs in a certain form preſcribed he ſhould publicly renounce and abjure his errors. And by a clauſe in this bill, the archbiſhops and biſhops within their reſpective juriſdictions, and the juſtices of peace in their ſeveral counties at their quarter ſeſſion, were authorized to ſummon any diſſenting teacher, and to require his ſubſcription to a declaration of faith containing the articles above enumerated; and upon his refuſal, it was enacted, that he ſhould be *ipſo facto* deprived of the benefit of the act of toleration. The lords being ſummoned on the ſecond reading of this bill (May 1721), Dr. WAKE, archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſealed his apoſtacy from the principles of civil and religious liberty, by moving to have it committed. Upon which lord Onſlow roſe, and declared "that though he was himſelf zealouſ-

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ly attached to the doctrines of the church of England, he would never consent to support even the truth itself by persecution; and he moved that the bill might be THROWN OUT." He was seconded by the duke of Wharton, who said, that having been himself frequently accused of impiety and irreligion *, he conceived that he could not more effectually vindicate his character from these imputations, than by opposing to the utmost a measure

* This is the nobleman whose character is so happily delineated by POPE, in his Epistle to lord viscount Cobham.

—" WHARTON, the scorn and wonder of our days,
Whose ruling passion is the lust of praise,
Born with whate'er could win it from the wise;
Women and fools must like him—or he dies.
Though wondering senates hung on all he spoke,
The club must hail him master of the joke.
Shall parts so various aim at nothing new?
He'll shine a TULLY and a WILMOT too.
Thus with each gift of nature or of art,
And wanting nothing but an honest heart,
Grown all to all—from no one vice exempt,
And most contemptible, to shun contempt;
His passion still to covet general praise,
His life to forfeit it a thousand ways—
He dies sad outcast of each church and state;
And, harder still—flagitious, yet not great."

There seems a remarkable resemblance between the character of this nobleman and that of the last VILLIERS duke of Buckingham, described with such masterly strokes of genius under the appellation of ZIMRI in Dryden's Absalom and Ahitophel, and like him,

" Beggar'd by fools—whom still he found too late;
He had his jest—and they had his estate."

On leaving England with a ruined constitution and fortune, he entered into the service of the Pretender then patronized by the court of Madrid;

a meaſure ſo repugnant to the ſpirit of Chriſtianity. And taking a bible from his pocket, he excited the amazement of the houſe by reading with much gravity many paſſages from the ſacred volume, containing exhortations to univerſal charity, meekneſs, and mutual forbearance. The earl of Peterborough, with uncommon boldneſs and happineſs of expreſſion, declared, that though he was for a parliamentary king, he was not for a parliamentary GOD or a parliamentary religion; and that if this bill were to paſs, he ſhould be ambitious of a ſeat in the conclave of cardinals, as more honorable than that which he occupied in the Britiſh houſe of peers. Dr. Kennet, biſhop of Peterborough, proteſted, that he NEVER would be concerned in the execution of ſuch a law—and he earneſtly hoped that his brethren on the bench would not concur in the eſtabliſhment of a PROTESTANT INQUISITION. The lords Cowper and Townſhend alſo ſpoke with much ability againſt this infamous and execrable bill; by which a pretended regard for the honor of religion was, as uſual, made a pretext for the gratification of the moſt malignant paſſions—a bill, which openly and impudently avowed and adopted the moſt profligate practices of the Romiſh church—and the principle of which, if once admitted, would lead to all the horrors of the rack, the ſtake, and the wheel *. It was

drid; and receiving, when in that city, a letter from his ſovereign the king of England, commanding his return home, he is ſaid to have thrown it ſcornfully out of the coach window. After running a rapid and aſtoniſhing career of profligacy and extravagance, he expired—"with not a friend to cloſe his eyes," at a convent near Terragona in Spain, A. D. 1731, when he had not completed the thirty-ſecond year of his age.

* It has been juſtly obſerved, that every man diſclaims the character and appellation of a perſecutor. GARDINER and BONNER doubtleſs profeſſed

was on the other hand ſupported by the earl of Nottingham, the lords Bathurſt and Trevor, the biſhops of London, Wincheſter, Lichfield and Conventry, and various others. But on the diviſion, the bill was rejected by a majority of ſixty voices againſt thirty-one.

At this period died Pope Clement XI. who had ſat in the papal chair above twenty years—a man reſpectable for

profeſſed themſelves animated, not by a ſpirit of perſecution, but of *holy zeal* for the preſervation of the Catholic faith in its genuine purity. And if the earl of NOTTINGHAM had been left to decide upon the fate of the learned profeſſor his antagoniſt, he might very poſſibly have had the *moderation and candor* to ſay, in the words of the well-known epiſtle of king James I. to the ſtates of Holland, in relation to the famous Vorſtius, "that he would not preſume poſitively to pronounce what reſolutions it might be proper to take reſpecting him; but SURELY NEVER HERETIC BETTER DESERVED THE FLAMES." On account of his temporary junction with the Whigs during the adminiſtration of Oxford, the earl of Nottingham is ſatirized in various *jeux d' eſprit* of Swift, under the appellation of DISMAL. A humorous parody of the celebrated ſpeech of this nobleman, in oppoſition to the treaty of Utrecht, thus concludes:

"Since the Tories have thus diſappointed my hopes,
And will neither regard my figures nor tropes,
I'll *ſpeech* againſt peace while DISMAL's my name,
And be a true Whig, while I am—NOT-IN-GAME."

In the "Windſor prophecy" he is ſtyled, in alluſion to his name and original title, baron Finch of Daventry, "the tall black Daventry bird." And in the ballad on the ſurrender of Dunkirk he is again complimented:

"Sunderland's run out of his wits,
And DISMAL double-diſmal looks;
Wharton can only ſwear by fits,
And ſtrutting Hal is off the hooks.
Old Godolphin, full of ſpleen,
Made falſe moves and loſt his queen."

for his talents, but haughty, inflexible, and zealouſly devoted to the intereſts of the houſe of Stuart. He was ſucceeded by Benedict XIII. of the houſe of Conti.

Although the pernicious tendency of the continental connections of England had been the conſtant theme of Mr. Walpole's eloquence while in oppoſition to the court, one of the firſt meaſures of his adminiſtration was to move for a ſubſidy to Sweden, with whom an alliance offenſive and defenſive had been juſt concluded—a Britiſh ſquadron being alſo at this very time cruiſing in the Baltic for the protection of that kingdom againſt the deſigns of Ruſſia. So that, as lord Moleſworth obſerved, "We were not only required to aſſiſt the Swedes with whom we had been ſo long at variance, but to purchaſe at an enormous price the permiſſion to aſſiſt them. His lordſhip affirmed, that our engagements were inconſiſtent and contradictory—that our politics were not only variable, but incomprehenſible to every man who, knowing merely the ſtate of Great Britain, was unapprized of the ſeveral petty intereſts of the electorate, which were the ſecret ſprings of our tranſactions abroad—that we were in turn the allies and the dupes of all nations—that if ſuch ſolicitude for the reſtoration of the conqueſts made by Ruſſia upon Sweden were reaſonable, it was incumbent upon Hanover to ſet the example, by the reſtoration of Bremen and Verden, and of Pruſſia our ally by that of Pomerania—that, whatever might be the connections or engagements of Hanover, Great Britain had neither any intereſt nor any right to intermeddle in the affairs of the empire, and that the friendſhip or enmity of the powers of the Baltic was of little importance to England, as we procured nothing from the kingdoms of the North which we could not with more advantage import from our own colonies in America, were proper encouragement

couragement held out to them. His lordſhip acknowledged that the diſtreſſed condition to which the Swedes were reduced would be really worthy of compaſſion, could we forget that they had been the authors in a great meaſure of their own misfortunes, by their tame ſubmiſſion to a deſpotic tyrannical prince, who had ſacrificed their ſubſtance in purſuit of his raſh and unjuſt deſigns; and that any nation which followed their example deſerved the ſame fate.—His lordſhip touched on the affairs of the Duchy of Mecklenburg, which he inſinuated to have been the ſecret cauſe of the rupture with the Czar; and entered into a detail of the treaties of Roſchild and Travendahl, in order to ſhow how widely we had deviated from engagements of which we were ourſelves the guarantees. His lordſhip ſaid he would go as far as any man to maintain and ſupport the honor and dignity of the crown of Great Britain, but he would never conſent to ſquander, in the mode now recommended, what yet remained of the wealth and reſources of the nation." The vote of ſupply at length paſſed, not without much angry objection and difficulty. The terms of the treaty of peace with Spain alſo, when laid before parliament (October 1721), underwent very ſevere cenſure. It was ſaid, that as the war was undertaken without provocation, ſo the peace was concluded without advantage—that the Spaniſh fleet had been attacked without any declaration of war, while amicable negotiations were carrying on at Madrid: and by an article of the treaty, we now ſubmitted to the reproachful condition of reſtoring the ſhips ſo captured, or of paying the full value of thoſe previouſly diſpoſed of: that the trade with Spain, which conſtituted one of the moſt valuable branches of the Britiſh commerce, had been interrupted and endangered, and the intereſts of England wantonly and daringly ſacrificed to an obſtinate predilection for

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that Germanic ſyſtem of politics with which we had no national concern: that the navy debt was increaſed to an immenſe amount, by keeping ſeamen in pay in order to maintain fleets in the Mediterranean and the Baltic, not for the ſervice of Great Britain, but for the preſervation of the king's acquiſitions in the empire. The court however, now ſtrengthened by the recent coalition of the Whigs, ſet all oppoſition at defiance, and the new miniſter ſoon proved himſelf ſuperior to all his predeceſſors in the art of adroit and dextrous parliamentary management.

In the courſe of this ſeſſion a ſingular petition was preſented to parliament from that reſpectable claſs of citizens known by the appellation of Quakers. It is a well-known tenet of this ſect, diſtinguiſhed by its harmleſs peculiarities, that oaths even judicially adminiſtered are in their own nature unlawful; and the legiſlature had long ſince wiſely and indulgently paſſed an act to render their ſolemn affirmation in all matters of civil concern, equivalent to an oath. The object of the preſent application was the omiſſion of the words "in the preſence of Almighty GOD," in the legal form of that affirmation; it being juſtly alleged, that while thoſe words remained, the eſſence of an oath was preſerved. But to the penalties of perjury, ſhould this affirmation be in any inſtance violated, they profeſſed their willing and cheerful ſubmiſſion. The court, ever ready under this reign to extend and eſtabliſh the civil and religious privileges of the ſubject, countenanced and ſupported this application, and a bill for this purpoſe paſſed the houſe of commons without difficulty. But in its paſſage through the houſe of lords, the ſpirit of bigotry, now awakened from its tranſient ſlumber, diſplayed itſelf in all its malignity. Dr. Atterbury biſhop of Rocheſter obſerved, that

that he knew not why ſuch a diſtinguiſhing mark of indulgence ſhould be allowed to a ſet of people who were hardly chriſtians. And a petition was preſented by the archbiſhop of York to the houſe, from the London clergy, "expreſſing a ſerious concern leſt the minds of good men ſhould be grieved and wounded, and the enemies of chriſtianity triumph, when they ſhould ſee ſuch condeſcenſion made by a chriſtian legiſlature to a ſet of men who renounce the divine inſtitutions of chriſtianity, particularly that by which the faithful are initiated into this religion, and denominated chriſtians." This petition was rejected by the houſe, not without ſymptoms of diſguſt and contempt: and the bill finally paſſed, though accompanied with a proteſt ſigned by ſeveral lords eager to record their own diſgrace and folly.

The firſt Septennial parliament of Great Britain was diſſolved March 1722, and early in the enſuing month of October the king opened the new parliament with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he expreſſed his concern in being obliged to inform them, that a dangerous conſpiracy had been for ſome time paſt formed, and was ſtill carrying on, againſt his perſon and government, in favor of the Pretender. His majeſty declared that the diſcoveries made at home, the information obtained from his miniſters abroad, and the intelligence received from the various powers in alliance with him in different parts of Europe, had afforded him ample and concurrent proofs of this wicked deſign. Some of the conſpirators were already, he added, ſecured, and endeavors uſed for apprehending others—and he referred to the wiſdom of parliament the meaſures neceſſary to be taken for the ſafety of the kingdom—expreſſing at the ſame time his firm belief that the hopes and expectations

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of their common enemies were very ill founded, in ſuppoſing that the diſcontents occaſioned by the loſſes and misfortunes of individuals, however induſtriouſly fomented, were turned into diſaffection and a ſpirit of rebellion. "Had I, ſaid this monarch in very animated and dignified language, ſince my acceſſion to the throne ever attempted any innovation in our eſtabliſhed religion; had I in any one inſtance invaded the liberty or property of my ſubjects, I ſhould leſs wonder at any endeavor to alienate the affections of my people, and draw them into meaſures that can end in nothing but their own deſtruction. But to hope to perſuade a free people, in full enjoyment of all that is dear and valuable to them, to exchange freedom for ſlavery, the proteſtant religion for popery, and to ſacrifice at once the price of ſo much blood and treaſure as have been ſpent in defence of our preſent eſtabliſhment, ſeems an infatuation not to be accounted for.—Your own intereſt and welfare call upon you to defend yourſelves.—I rely upon the divine protection, the ſupport of my parliament, and the affections of my people, which I ſhall endeavor to preſerve by continuing to make the laws of the realm the rule and meaſure of all my actions." On the communication of this intelligence, a very great and general alarm was excited in the nation. A conſiderable augmentation of the forces was immediately voted; the habeas-corpus act was ſuſpended, contrary to all precedent, for no leſs than twelve months. On the requiſition of the king, a body of troops was held by the ſtates-general in readineſs to embark from Holland, and ſix regiments were likewiſe ordered from Ireland. And both houſes joined in expreſſing the ſtrongeſt deteſtation and abhorrence of this "traitorous and unnatural conſpiracy." Mr. Walpole affirmed to the houſe, that this wicked deſign was formed

ed about chriſtmas laſt: that the conſpirators had made application to certain foreign potentates for troops; but being diſappointed in their expectation from abroad, they had reſolved deſperately to go on, confiding in their own ſtrength, and fondly depending upon the general diſcontent and confuſion excited by the failure of the fatal South-Sea project: that the plan was to ſeize upon the tower, the bank, and the exchequer, and to ſecure by violence the perſons of the king and the prince: that government had received information of this plot ever ſince May laſt: but two terms coming at that time together, it was thought adviſable to poſtpone the apprehending of the conſpirators till the long vacation, that no advantage might be taken of the habeas-corpus act. An exact account of this deteſtable conſpiracy he aſſured the houſe would in time be laid before them." But the plot itſelf ſeems to have been diſcovered while yet in embryo, and it is probable that no regular project of invaſion or inſurrection had been digeſted or matured; nor have the circumſtances explanatory either of its nature or extent ever been clearly developed. Various perſons, however, of high diſtinction, amongſt whom were the duke of Norfolk and the lords Orrery, North, and Grey, were apprehended on a very ſtrong preſumption of their concurrence in this conſpiracy. Pains and penalties were inflicted by act of parliament on ſeveral of the conſpirators. But one only ſuffered capital puniſhment—Chriſtopher Layer, a barriſter of the Temple, convicted of high treaſon in enliſting men for the Pretender. He was repeatedly reprieved, and much endeavor was uſed to procure from him a full confeſſion; but he perſiſted in a reſolute refuſal. Beyond compariſon, however, the trial which attracted moſt of the public attention was that of the celebrated Atterbury biſhop of Rocheſter,

Rocheſter, who was found to be a party in this conſpiracy, or at leaſt conſidentially privy to it: and he was, by a bill which paſſed both houſes by great majorities, deprived of his epiſcopal dignity, and ſentenced to perpetual baniſhment. Mr. Yonge, the mover of the bill, declared this prelate to be a diſgrace and diſhonor to a church conſpicuous for loyalty; that his holy function and elevated ſtation, with the ſolemn oaths he had taken, were the moſt unpardonable aggravations of his crime; and he concluded with applying to him the denunciation authorized by warrant of holy writ—"Let his habitation be deſolate, and let no man dwell therein, and his biſhopric let another take." The declaration of the Pretender, framed for the occaſion, and dated from Lucca, was by both houſes voted to be a falſe, inſolent, and traitorous libel, and ordered to be burnt at the Royal Exchange. In this declaration the Pretender, with ſingular modeſty and all the appearance of gravity, propoſed, that if king George would relinquiſh to him the throne of Great Britain, he would in return conſent to his retaining the title of king in his native dominions, and would invite all other ſtates to confirm it: and he likewiſe moſt graciouſly engaged to leave to king George his ſucceſſion to the Britiſh dominions ſecure, whenever, in due courſe, his natural right ſhould take place. An addreſs was preſented to the throne by the two houſes, expreſſing their "aſtoniſhment at the extravagant preſumption of this declaration, and repeating their aſſurances to ſupport his majeſty againſt the impotent efforts of an attainted fugitive, bred up in the maxims of tyranny and ſuperſtition." The proofs in ſupport of the charge againſt the biſhop of Rocheſter being ſomewhat deficient in legal preciſion, though ſufficiently clear to induce an intire conviction of his guilt, much clamor

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was excited by the bill of baniſhment paſſed by the commons againſt him; though, had not a ſpirit of lenity pervaded the proceedings of government on this occaſion, he would ſcarcely have eſcaped a bill of attainder. When it came under the diſcuſſion of the lords, the duke of Wharton, in a ſpeech of uncommon ability, expoſed what he ſtyled the weakneſs, inſufficiency, and contradiction of the evidence againſt the biſhop; and added, that ſuch proceedings, like the ſtone of Siſyphus, frequently rolled back on thoſe who were the chief promoters of them. Lord Cowper, now in oppoſition to the court, enlarged much on the danger and injuſtice of ſwerving from the fixed rules of evidence. He affirmed, "that the penalties inflicted by this bill were either much greater or much leſs than the biſhop deſerved; that whatever might be the nature or extent of the accuſation, the law of the land and the eſtabliſhed forms of judicial procedure ought to be ſtrictly adhered to, not only in the courts below, but in the high court of parliament itſelf; that every Engliſhman had a right to a trial by law; that this was in a more eſpecial manner the privilege of a peer of the realm. And the political neceſſity which was alleged in vindication of this meaſure he did not believe to exiſt; the government was ſufficiently ſecured by the powers veſted in the crown in conſequence of the ſuſpenſion of the habeas-corpus act, and the additional troops raiſed for its defence." And lord Bathurſt, in the courſe of an eloquent ſpeech on the ſame ſide, turning to the bench of biſhops, ſarcaſtically remarked, "that he could not account for the inveterate hatred and malice which ſome perſons bore the learned and ingenious biſhop of Rocheſter, unleſs they were intoxicated with the infatuation of certain tribes of ſavage Indians, who believed they inherited not only the ſpoils but even the abilities of any great enemy whom they

killed in battle." Notwithſtanding the reaſonings of lord Cowper, it ſeems erroneous and unſafe to deny the general poſition, that deviations from the eſtabliſhed forms of judicial procedure in extraordinary caſes are juſtifiable, and even neceſſary, where the public ſafety is concerned—provided that the executive juſtice of the ſtate depart not from that *ſubſtantial juſtice* which is founded in the nature of things. So entirely oppoſite were now the politics of France from thoſe which had prevailed in the late reign, that upon this occaſion the Regent offered twenty battalions of veteran troops to the king of Great Britain, in order to defend his perſon and government againſt the attempts of that family which Louis XIV. had employed the whole force of his kingdom to protect and reſtore—but this offer it was judged prudent to decline.

That the vengeful and mercileſs ſpirit by which the Whigs had been actuated when firſt reſtored to power, was now, notwithſtanding the pretended rigor of the late proceedings, moſt ſenſibly abated, the reverſal at this period of the act of attainder paſſed againſt lord Bolingbroke is a deciſive proof. The biſhop of Rocheſter, on his arrival at Calais, hearing that lord Bolingbroke was waiting there for a paſſage, exclaimed, with an emotion from which much was inferred, "Then we are exchanged." This nobleman, however, though reſtored to his honors and paternal eſtate, was ſtill excluded from a ſeat in the houſe of peers, through the inflexible oppoſition of the miniſter, who clearly diſcerned and dreaded the conſequences which might eventually reſult from the irreſiſtible force of his eloquence and talents, when exerted in that grand field of action. Fired with ambition to reſume his former ſtation in public life, and a philoſopher only through neceſſity, he cheriſhed a fixed and mortal reſentment

reſentment againſt Sir Robert Walpole; and regardleſs of his recent obligations, in a ſhort time joined with eagerneſs that oppoſition to his adminiſtration, ſo celebrated for the ability of its members, and which began now to aſſume a regular and ſyſtematic form. The chagrin of lord Bolingbroke was undoubtedly enhanced by ſeeing his former coadjutors in office, lord Oxford and lord Harcourt, in full poſſeſſion of thoſe high privileges which he vainly and inceſſantly pined to regain. The latter of theſe noblemen was even received into an high degree of favor at court; which, it is ſaid, occaſioning ſome ſevere reflections from the paſſionate lips of Atterbury, lord Harcourt was provoked to retaliate, by declaring that on the quee's death the biſhop came to him and lord Bolingbroke, and ſaid, nothing remained but immediately to proclaim king JAMES—offering, if they would give him a guard, to put on his lawn ſleeves, and head the profeſſion *.

* This celebrated prelate, his learned friend Dr Smalridge, on preſenting him, A. D. 1710, to the upper houſe of convocation, as the prolocutor, moſt elegantly ſtyles, "Vir in nullo literarum genere hoſpes, in pleriſque artibus et ſtudiis diu et feliciter exercitatus—in maxime perfectis literarum diſciplinis perfectiſſimus." His eloquence and learning, none, indeed, have preſumed to diſpute; and his public character has all that dignity which ariſes from firmneſs and conſiſtency. Of the violence and virulence of his temper he gave early proofs in his reply to the famous treatiſe of Dr. WAKE, "On the authority of chriſtian princes, and the rights, powers, and privileges of convocations:" "Were (ſays he) all that Dr. Wake affirms ſtrictly true and juſtifiable; yet whether laboring the point ſo heartily as he does, and ſhewing himſelf to be ſo willing to prove the church to have no rights and privileges, be a very decent part in a clergyman, I leave his friends to conſider. But when all a man advances is not only ill deſigned, but ill-founded, and his principles are as falſe as they are ſcandalous, there are no names and cenſures too bad to be beſtowed on ſuch writers and their writings." One cannot ſufficiently admire the effrontery of the inſinuation, that whether the AUTHORITY claimed by the church be well or ill-founded,

Early in the preſent ſeſſion, a bill which occupied much of the attention of parliament, and was kept long depending in the houſe, was introduced and ſupported by the miniſter, for levying the ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds on the eſtates of all Roman Catholics, upon pretext of "the conſtant endeavors of the Papiſts to ſubvert the preſent happy eſtabliſhment; though he profeſſed that he would not take upon him to charge any particular perſon among

ed, it is at all events incumbent on the clergy, *as ſuch*, to defend and ſupport it. For this performance an honorary degree was conferred upon Atterbury by the univerſity of Oxford. But in animadverting upon it, biſhop Burnet happily remarks, "that the applauſe with which it was received, when the temper and ſpirit with which it is written are conſidered, forms a much ſtronger argument againſt the expediency of a convocation, than any he brings or can bring in favor of it." And Dr. Wake himſelf declared, "that ſuch a ſpirit of wrath and uncharitableneſs pervaded the whole book, as he had hardly ever met with before; though, to do no injuſtice to his adverſary, he admits that Dr. Atterbury has done all that a man of parts and zeal could do, to defend the cauſe he had eſpouſed. One thing only was wanting: He had not TRUTH on his ſide—his work is a MERE ROMANCE." In 1703, when the principles of Whiggiſm began to predominate, Hooper, Dean of Canterbury, a man diſtinguiſhed by the ſteadineſs of his attachment to them, was, by an unexpected and unſolicited nomination, raiſed to the biſhopric of St. Aſaph, "with a view (as Dr. Atterbury tells his friend Trelawney biſhop of Exeter), as he ſuppoſes, to take the lead in the adminiſtration of eccleſiaſtical affairs; in which caſe, ſays he, I am ſure to be oppreſſed and kept under, as much as if archbiſhop Tillotſon were alive and at the helm—a very ill return for making that *ſcuffle* which ſet him at the head of the lower clergy." But ſurely this was a ground of obligation, on which few perſons would have thought of founding a claim of gratitude. In June 1713, the Tories being now triumphant, Dr. Atterbury was advanced to the biſhopric of Rocheſter. His ſanguine hopes of attaining to the primacy were however quickly blaſted, by the death of the queen; and at the acceſſion of King George I. he engaged, with all the fervor of party rage and diſappointed ambition, in the moſt violent meaſures of the oppoſition; and was at length inſtigated by paſſion and revenge, to embark in a wild and ill-conducted conſpiracy, which terminated in his ruin. He died at Paris, Feb. 1732.

among them, with being concerned in the preſent *horrid conſpiracy*. But it was well known, that many of them had been engaged in the *late* rebellion; and the preſent plot, he averred, was contrived at Rome, and the Engliſh Catholics were not only well-wiſhers to it, but had contributed large ſums to carry it on. And he thought it highly reaſonable, that the fomenters of the public diſturbances ſhould themſelves bear the chief ſhare of the burdens, which muſt be neceſſarily incurred for their ſuppreſſion." This propoſition was hearkened to with extreme diſapprobation, and incurred heavy cenſure, not only from the partiſans of the Tory and Jacobite factions, but from many of the moſt enlightened and intelligent members of the houſe. And it was ſo ably combated by Mr. Lutwyche in particular, in a ſpeech delivered on the motion of commitment, as to merit a diſtinct and moſt honorable tranſmiſſion for the inſtruction of ſucceeding times.

" The gentlemen (ſaid this excellent citizen and ſenator) who have ſpoken in favor of this bill, have urged the invariable and inveterate enmity of the Catholics againſt the preſent eſtabliſhment; and have aſſerted, that if they did not ſhew themſelves openly againſt the government in the late conſpiracy, it proceeded from motives of prudence, and not for want of zeal in the Pretender's cauſe. A general charge of this kind may, indeed, form a ſufficient ground for *a preamble* to a bill of this nature; but the enacting part ought to be ſupported by ſpecific facts, clearly and plainly proved; otherwiſe we may involve the innocent in a puniſhment due only to the guilty. Becauſe *ſome* of the Roman Catholics are *ſuſpected* to have been concerned in this conſpiracy, ſhall the whole body be not only charged with the guilt, but actually ſuffer the penalty? The law ſuppoſes every man to be accountable for his own actions, and doth not require

quire what is in no man's power to perform—that he ſhould be anſwerable for the conduct of another. As to the diſaffection of the Catholics in the preſent inſtance, I appeal to the houſe whether any mention is made in the report, of any Roman Catholic of eminence, except a noble duke, to whom a letter is ſuppoſed to have been written, implying his knowledge and approbation of the conſpiracy. How unjuſt then, upon ſo ſlender a ſuſpicion, to inflict the ſeverities enacted by this law, upon numerous innocent families who harbor no dangerous deſigns, and wiſh for no political revolution! If you abandon the ground of diſaffection, and make their religion, ſuppoſed ſo inimical to that eſtabliſhed in this country, the pretext for this meaſure; it is a ſpecies of perſecution odious in itſelf, incompatible with the honor of the legiſlature, and deſtructive of the freedom and happineſs of the ſubject. Let it not be ſaid, that his majeſty's mild and gracious reign has been blemiſhed by an act ſo rigorous, of which the evident tendency is to confirm the obſtinate in their errors, and alienate the affections of the well-diſpoſed. There has been, indeed, a political reaſon aſſigned for this meaſure, deduced from its expediency; and it is ſaid to be indeed to deter the Jacobites abroad from raſh enterpriſes, by making their friends here pay the expence which the nation finds neceſſary for its ſecurity. As this is a reaſon founded on mere ſpeculation, I will venture to oppoſe one conjecture to another. And it is my opinion, that as the claims of the Pretender are in themſelves unfounded and unjuſt, his only hope of ſucceſs can be derived from the diſcontents of the people; the more ground, therefore, there is for complaint, the better proſpect he has of ſucceſs, and the wider ſcope will be afforded to the Jacobites, to aggravate the errors and faults of the government.

ment. If the peaceable and quiet behavior of the Catholics does not entitle them to the protection of the law —if the principle on which this bill is founded be in future adopted as juſt and equitable—if the moſt dutiful and unreſerved ſubmiſſion cannot exempt them from criminal imputations, and even from the penalties of open ſedition and rebellion, will they not embrace any opportunity to free themſelves from this intolerable tyranny, thinking that under no form of government they can receive worſe treatment? It is alleged that, for many years paſt, the legal impoſitions have not been levied from the Catholics; and that a much larger ſum than the preſent is actually due from them, if the forfeitures were rigorouſly exacted. The fact I will not diſpute; but the queſtion to be reſolved is—Why do you now change your lenity into cruelty? The executive government, it is evident, conceived the terrors of the penal code to be intended for ſecurity, not revenge. And in conſequence of the peaceable demeanor of the catholics, theſe acts were virtually ſuſpended. If theſe ſtatutes were, therefore, juſtly and wiſely diſpenſed with before, why are they to be put in execution now? At the æra of the revolution, the Roman catholics were far more numerous and powerful than at preſent. It was well known that they held correſpondence, and were deeply engaged in the intereſts of King James, who was openly ſupported by France. At that period, the competition for the crown was indeed of a ſerious nature, and greatly different from that originating from the wild and extravagant pretenſions of a forlorn fugitive, expelled from all the courts of Europe, and obliged to ſeek for ſhelter and ſanctuary at Rome. But king WILLIAM, though warned of the dangers of his ſituation, fully appriſed of the ſeverity of the laws enacted againſt the Papiſts, and repeatedly urged to carry them into ſtrict execution,

ecution, reſolutely and conſtantly refuſed compliance. That great monarch knew that no free ſtate could long ſubſiſt in a departure from the rules of equal and impartial juſtice. It has been ſaid, that the liberties of England can never be in danger, but from the Roman Catholics: the truth is, that the chief danger ariſes from the diviſions and animoſities ſubſiſting between the various denominations of proteſtants in this country—animoſities ariſing from an erroneous and contracted policy, and perpetuated by artful and ambitious leaders for their own purpoſes, by exciting unneceſſary fears and groundleſs jealouſies. I know, ſaid this enlightened ſenator, no better rule of government, than to puniſh the guilty, and protect the innocent—but precipitately to treat as criminal a body of men, becauſe you ſuſpect them to be guilty, when farther inquiry and better information may prove them to be innocent, is no very ſatisfactory mode of diſplaying the impartiality of your proceedings. Conſidering the great vigilance of the miniſtry, and their diligence in unravelling the moſt ſubtle contrivances of the conſpirators, I think it very unlikely that any conſiderable foreign remittances made by the Roman Catholics ſhould have eſcaped their notice. To ſingle out one ſet of men, therefore, and upon a mere ſuppoſition to inflict penalties upon them, which the cleareſt proof of guilt only could warrant, is an act impoſſible to reconcile to that juſtice and equity which ought invariably to guide and direct the proceedings of this aſſembly."

This iniquitous bill, which was, in its progreſs through the houſe, extended to all nonjurors, notwithſtanding theſe irrefragable reaſonings, finally paſſed by a majority of 217 againſt 168 voices, and received the royal aſſent; on which occaſion a ſpeech was made by Sir Spencer Compton,

Compton, the ſpeaker, ſhewing, or at leaſt endeavoring to ſhew, the policy and neceſſity of this meaſure, from the countenance and ſupport given by the papiſts and nonjurors to the "late horrid and execrable conſpiracy." As no oppreſſion, however, of a ſimilar nature was afterwards attempted, there is reaſon to believe that the generous efforts now made in the cauſe of juſtice and humanity were not wholly loſt. And if the magnitude of the ſubject may be deemed not ſuch as to require ſo particular a detail, it ought to be remarked, that the arguments of Mr. Lutwyche are not of a temporary or local kind, but compriſe truths of univerſal and perpetual importance and obligation.

On the 27th of May 1723, an end was put to this long and intereſting ſeſſion by a ſpeech from the throne; in which his majeſty expreſſed in warm terms "his ſatisfaction at the proceedings of the parliament, and in particular at thoſe exertions of legiſlative authority which were neceſſary in this criſis of danger, for the puniſhment of offenders, whoſe guilt there was no room to doubt, but whoſe wicked arts and practices had been brought to ſuch perfection, that they confidently carried on their traitorous projects in defiance of the law, from an aſſurance of being able to elude it. Some EXTRAORDINARY AFFAIRS, his majeſty added, calling him abroad this ſummer, he doubted not but that the wiſdom and vigilance of his good ſubjects would prevent their common enemies from taking advantage of his abſence; and that they will at length ceaſe to flatter themſelves with the vain imagination of being able to ſubvert our religion and preſent eſtabliſhment."

About this period, Philip V. king of Spain, yielding himſelf up without reſerve to vain and ſuperſtitious fervors of devotion, retired to the monaſtery of St. Ildefonſo; whence he made a ſolemn renunciation of the crowns

crowns of Caſtile and Arragon, in favor of his eldeſt ſon, Don Louis, Prince of Aſturias—" committing him and his people to the powerful protection of the HOLY VIRGIN," under whoſe auſpices the young prince ventured to aſſume the reins of government, without the uſual formality of aſſembling the Cortez. But, dying ſoon after his elevation to the throne, the abdicated monarch was reluctantly prevailed upon again to encounter the cares and burdens of royalty. Devoting himſelf, nevertheleſs, entirely to monkiſh exerciſes of religion, the taſk of government devolved upon the queen; whoſe influence in the Spaniſh counſels had been for ſome time paſt, very conſpicuous.

The public tranquillity being now perfectly reſtored, the king put in execution his reſolution to reviſit his dominions on the continent, where new and unexpected political connections and combinations were taking place, by no means favorable to the views and wiſhes of his Britannic Majeſty. The enmity between Ruſſia and Sweden had at length terminated by a treaty concluded at Nyſtad, A. D. 1721; conformably to which, the fertile and extenſive provinces of Livonia, Ingria, Eſthonia, and Carelia, were confirmed to Ruſſia, and the barren deſerts of Finland, only, reſtored to Sweden. This peace was quickly matured into an union of counſels and deſigns, which gave extreme umbrage and uneaſineſs to the king of England; who, having ground to believe the immediate object of this coalition to be the reſtoration of the duchy of Sleſwic to the duke of Holſtein, trembled for the ſafety of his favorite and contiguous acquiſitions of Bremen and Verden—the ſecurity of all theſe poſſeſſions reſting only on the tottering baſis of the mutual guarantee of Denmark and Hanover. After a ſhort interval of anxious ſuſpenſe, it was aſcertained that the treaty of

of Stockholm, ſigned February 1724, contained in it a ſecret article, by which the high contracting parties obliged themſelves "in the móſt effectual manner to uſe their *good offices* for the reſtoring the duke of Holſtein—who was nearly related to both—to the Duchy of Sleſwic; and if theſe proved ineffectual, *other methods ſhould be thought of.* In particular, application ſhould be made to the powers who ſtood engaged with them to guarantee the ſaid Duchy to the ſaid duke, of whom England by the treaty of Travendahl was one—leaving it more immediately to his IMPERIAL MAJESTY, to concert ſuch meaſures as might with the greateſt ſecurity for ever cut off this ſource of ſuch *infinite troubles* to the north." A viſible coldneſs had for ſome time ſubſiſted between the king of England and the emperor, who in every inſtance oppoſed, as far as he could venture to oppoſe, the aſpiring views of the houſe of Lunenburg; and who perſiſted in his refuſal to grant the inveſtiture of the Duchies of Bremen and Verden, but upon terms with which the king of England perſiſted in his refuſal to comply—the emperor requiring, as it is ſaid, on his part, "a refreſhing fee" to an enormous amount; and his Britannic majeſty being anxiouſly deſirous, in contrariety to the poſitive conſtitutions of the empire, and the peremptory declarations of the emperor, to include the imperial city of Bremen in the new inveſtiture. Unfortunately alſo, an imperial Eaſt-India company had been recently eſtabliſhed at Oſtend, which was viewed, both by England and Holland, with the malignant eyes of commercial jealouſy. A vote, and, in the ſequel, an act, paſſed in the Britiſh parliament, declaring it to be an high crime and miſdemeanor for any ſubject of Great Britain in any manner to engage in or countenance this undertaking; and repeated remonſtrances, much more urgent

urgent than reaſonable, were made by the Engliſh miniſtry, to induce the emperor to abandon this enterpriſe.

During this ſtate of things in Europe died Philip duke of Orleans, regent of France, the firm and faithful ally of the king of England *. This prince was poſſeſſed of ſhining talents, which were nevertheleſs greatly clouded and obſcured by an extravagant propenſity to pleaſure, which he indulged without reſerve or decorum. From the love of fame incident to an elevated mind, he was anxious that his conduct ſhould appear in a favorable light to poſterity, and had formed a ſerious reſolution of convoking the eſtates-general of the kingdom, for the purpoſe of effecting a grand reformation in the ſtate, from which he was with difficulty diverted by his confidential miniſter and favorite the cardinal Dubois †. The Regent frequently expreſſed his indignation at the wretched ſtate of political degradation to which France was reduced; declaring that, had he been born a commoner, he would have defended the cauſe of liberty againſt the oppreſſion of the government. But his voluptuous life and the profligacy of his morals were totally incompatible with the predominance of public virtue or public ſpirit in his counſels. Under the adminiſtration of the duke of Bourbon, his ſucceſſor, the ſame good underſtanding ſeemed to ſubſiſt between the crowns of Great Britain and France; and both courts viewed with

* December 2, 1722.

† On this man, the abandoned high-prieſt and companion of the nocturnal orgies of the Regent, the following epitaph was written:

Rome rougit d'avoir rougi
Le maquereau qui git ici.

with equal aſtoniſhment and apprehenſion the ſudden termination of the long and deeply-rooted animoſity of the emperor and the king of Spain by a treaty concluded at Vienna, April 1725; in conformity to which, Spain became guarantee of the Auſtrian ſucceſſion, according to the PRAGMATIC SANCTION *. Such was the appellation given to the imperial edict, confirmed and ratified by the diet of the empire, by which the vaſt dominions of that houſe were declared to be a perpetual and indiviſible feoffment limited to the heirs-general of the preſent emperor. And the emperor, on his part, granted the inveſtiture of the Duchies of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, to the eldeſt ſon of Philip V. by his preſent queen, in default of heirs in the actual poſſeſſors. High offence had been recently given by the court of Verſailles to the court of Madrid, by the diſmiſſal of the young Infanta of Spain, affianced to the king of France, but to whom that monarch had conceived a diſlike approaching to averſion. The Spaniſh court not only in the firſt emotions of its anger ſent back to France mademoiſelle de Beaujolois, daughter of the late Regent, and betrothed to Don Carlos, ſecond ſon of his Catholic majeſty; but offered, in its eager ſolicitude of revenge, to adjuſt all exiſting differences with the emperor, under the ſole mediation of Great Britain. But at this propoſition, ſo flattering and advantageous in various reſpects, the king of England was compelled to heſitate; knowing that this mediation could not be accepted without exciting the extreme umbrage and jealouſy of France; and the treaty was ſuddenly and unexpectedly

* The term "pragmatic," univerſally applied to this famous edict, is uſed in a ſenſe ſo uncommon, that it may be pardonable, *en paſſant*, to remark its derivation from the Greek πραγματικος, carrying with it the complex meaning of a public and weighty ſanction.

expectedly signed without the intervention of any other power. To this treaty the court of Petersburg, after an interval of deliberation and delay, acceded: and military preparations were made by all these courts, which were supposed to indicate farther designs than it was yet thought proper to avow.

To counterbalance the weight of this confederacy, a similar treaty of alliance was signed at Hanover, Sept. 1725, between England, France, Denmark, and Prussia; to which Holland and Sweden afterwards acceded. When this treaty was communicated to the English parliament, which met January 1726, after two successive quiet and tranquil sessions demanding no distinct historic notice, it was strongly urged, "that the British nation would be eventually engaged by it in a war for the defence of the king's German dominions, contrary to an express provision made in the act of settlement, which, as the basis the present family rested their title to the crown upon, ought to be held sacred and inviolable. And the whole scope and tenor of it was said to be diametrically opposite to the uniform policy of Great Britain for a long succession of years. For by this treaty we had abandoned an alliance upon which the balance of power in Europe, and the preservation of its liberties, were generally and justly believed to depend; and with unexampled eagerness and assiduity of folly had solicited the friendship of a nation, whose views and interests stood in direct opposition no less to those of England than of the house of Austria." Mr. Horace Walpole, brother to the minister, and much employed, and confided in, by him in all foreign transactions, and who had been the chief negotiator of this treaty, undertook to obviate all objections to it in a studied and elaborate harangue, in which he explained to the house at great length the

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different ſituations and intereſts of the principal ſtates of Europe, from the peace of Utrecht to the preſent time. This miniſter aſſured the houſe, " that the conſtant care and endeavor of his majeſty, ſince his happy acceſſion to the throne, had been to ſecure the tranquillity of Chriſtendom, to promote the honor and intereſt of his kingdoms, and ſettle the balance of power in Europe on a ſolid foundation. With theſe great and laudable views, he ſaid, his majeſty had aſſumed the character both of mediator and guarantee of the Barrier treaty concluded in 1715, and of the convention by which it was ſubſequently confirmed between the emperor and the ſtates. Actuated by the ſame motives, he had in 1716 ſigned a defenſive alliance with the emperor, and in 1717 another with the moſt chriſtian king and the ſtates-general. In order to fortify theſe treaties, and more effectually to ſecure the repoſe of Europe, the king had in 1718 made a convention with his moſt chriſtian majeſty, for propoſing ultimate conditions of peace between the emperor and Spain; and alſo between his imperial majeſty and the then king of Sicily. That this treaty was followed, after a very ſhort interval, by a treaty of alliance between the emperor, the king of Great Britain, his moſt chriſtian majeſty, and the republic of Holland; whence this treaty derived its popular appellation of the quadruple alliance. That within a few months the king of Sicily was admitted as a party to this treaty; and at length the king of Spain himſelf was compelled to accede to the terms of it, which was chiefly owing to the generous aſſiſtance his Britannic majeſty gave to the emperor in the Mediterranean; that the remaining points in diſpute between their imperial and Catholic majeſties were referred to the deciſion of a congreſs opened at Cambray. After an unſucceſsful negotiation of three years the congreſs was ſuddenly diſſolved,

ed, upon advice that the emperor and king of Spain had adjuſted their differences, by a ſeparate treaty concluded at Vienna That this unexpected event had occaſioned no little ſurmiſe and alarm; and had raiſed jealouſies which a more perfect knowledge of this tranſaction had fully juſtified. That this treaty of peace was followed by a treaty of commerce, the principal object of which was the eſtabliſhment of an India company at Oſtend, in violation of our rights, and to the ruin of our trade. That the remonſtrances made by his majeſty's miniſters at the courts of Vienna and Madrid had been received by the miniſters of his catholic majeſty with coldneſs, and by thoſe of his imperial majeſty with the utmoſt haughtineſs; inſomuch that they ſcrupled not to inſinuate that if his Britannic majeſty perſiſted in adopting reſolutions hoſtile to the treaty of Vienna, his imperial majeſty would think himſelf diſengaged from the guarantee of the proteſtant ſucceſſion to the crown of Great Britain. And they had even gone ſo far as to affirm, that ſuch meaſures might be attended with diſagreeable conſequences in relation to his majeſty's dominions in Germany. Such however was the firmneſs of his majeſty, that no impreſſion could be made on him by theſe menaces; nor was he by any ſuggeſtions to be deterred from concerting with other powers the means of counteracting the ambitious views of this formidable alliance. And this was the more neceſſary, becauſe there were juſt grounds to believe that this extraordinary and unexpected reconciliation was owing to the fixed and favorite purpoſe of the houſe of Auſtria, of rendering the imperial dignity hereditary in their family. In order to that, it might be *ſuppoſed* that the treaty of Vienna was to be cemented by a marriage between the Emperor's eldeſt daughter and the infant Don Carlos.—Who did not foreſee the fatal conſequences of this conjunction?

junction? The iſſue of ſuch a marriage might in time inherit, not only the imperial crown, and the vaſt hereditary dominions of the Auſtrian family, but the entire monarchy of Spain with its appendages, which would entirely overthrow the balance of power, and render the liberties of Europe wholly precarious. If this was not within the contemplation of theſe two monarchs, how would any one undertake to account for the extenſive privileges beſtowed by the king of Spain, in contravention of the moſt ſolemn treaties with Great Britain, upon the emperor's ſubjects in the Netherlands; or for the emperor's ſo far forgetting his obligations to England and Holland, as to perſiſt in ſupporting the Oſtend company, eſtabliſhed with no other view than to diſtreſs the maritime powers? or for his engaging to aſſiſt the king of Spain in the recovery of Minorca and Gibraltar? In order to put a timely ſtop to the progreſs of ſuch alarming and dangerous deſigns, his majeſty had, *in his great wiſdom*, entered into a defenſive alliance with his moſt chriſtian majeſty and the king of Pruſſia, to which ſeveral other powers, and particularly the ſtates-general, were invited to accede: that the grand deſign of this alliance was to maintain the tranquillity of Chriſtendom and the balance of power, and the reſpective rights and immunities of all nations, particularly thoſe relating to commerce: and that his majeſty, ever attentive to the ſupport and protection of the proteſtant intereſt, had engaged, by a ſeparate article of this treaty, the moſt chriſtian king and the king of Pruſſia, who together with his majeſty were guarantees of the treaty of Oliva, concluded between the crowns of Poland and Sweden, A. D. 1660, to interpoſe in behalf of our diſtreſſed proteſtant brethren in Poland; and to cauſe reparation to be made for what may have been done at Thorne, contrary to the ſtipulations of that treaty. And he concluded with

paſſing very laviſh encomiums on the wiſdom, vigilance, ſteadineſs, and reſolution of his majeſty, in the conduct of all theſe weighty and important affairs."

The houſe, no doubt completely enlightened and convinced by the perſpicuity of this ſtatement and the force of theſe reaſonings, and admiring the beautiful harmony with which theſe complicated, multifarious, and ſeemingly diſſonant treaties, alliances, and conventions, concurred in promoting the intereſt of Great Britain, with a ſingle eye to which they were ſo demonſtrably concluded, voted by a prodigious majority, *viz.* 285 againſt 107, an addreſs to the king, declaratory of the higheſt approbation of the treaty of Hanover; and expreſſive of the unfeigned gratitude of the houſe, for the meaſures ſo wiſely concerted by his majeſty for obviating and diſappointing the dangerous views of the emperor and the king of Spain; and reprobating the treaty of commerce concluded between thoſe powers, as "calculated for the entire deſtruction of the Britiſh trade; and aſſuring his majeſty, that, in vindication of the honor of the Britiſh crown, the houſe will effectually ſtand by and ſupport his majeſty againſt all inſults and attacks that any power, in reſentment of the meaſures ſo wiſely taken, ſhall make upon any of his majeſty's territories, though not belonging to the crown of Great Britain." This unexpected revolution in the general politics of Europe was chiefly effected through the inſtrumentality of the famous M. de Ripperda, a native of Holland; who, from the condition of a private gentleman, was advanced, after the fall of Alberoni, to the rank of a Grandee of Spain, and ſucceeded to the poſt of prime miniſter. He was inſpired by a kindred genius, and proſecuted the ſame projects of aggrandiſement by different means. Finding the power of England the grand and perpetual obſtacle to the accompliſhment

compliſhment of his deſigns, he frequently indulged himſelf in very indiſcreet and paſſionate expreſſions of reſentment, and openly affirmed that the intereſts of Europe required the reſtoration of the houſe of Stuart. After the concluſion of the treaty of Hanover, he haughtily exclaimed, "Well, well, we ſhall teach theſe petty gentlemen (meaning the electors of Hanover and Brandenburg) to make treaties!" And he was frequently accuſtomed to ſay, that cardinal Alberoni made a falſe ſtep, in ſending that fleet to Sicily, which he ought to have ſent to England. In a memorial addreſſed by colonel Stanhope *, the Britiſh miniſter at Madrid, to the Spaniſh ſecretary of ſtate, the marquis de la Paz, at a ſubſequent period, heavy complaints are made of the inſolent diſcourſes of the Duc de Ripperda during his embaſſy at Vienna: "There can be no ſtronger proof (ſaid the Engliſh miniſter) of their Catholic majeſties' approbation of M. de Ripperda's behavior, than the great honors to which they promoted him, and the entire truſt they conferred upon him, at his return to Madrid. And as what he had given out at Vienna, relative to Gibraltar, was verified by the peremptory demand of that fortreſs; ſo from that time meaſures were taken, to make good what he had likewiſe ſaid there, that the king ſhould be driven out of his dominions, and the Pretender placed upon the throne of Great Britain. It is freely left to the judgment of every impartial perſon, that he who declared there was a ſecret offenſive alliance, was actually prime miniſter to his Catholic majeſty, who honored him with his entire confidence—that it was he who had himſelf made the treaties of Vienna—that he never denied making ſuch declaration,

* Afterwards created earl of Harrington; and who, on his return from this embaſſy, ſucceeded lord Townſhend in the poſt of ſecretary of ſtate.

when it was publicly talked of; and that he was never diſowned in it by the king his maſter, who continued him a long time after in his ſervice; nor was it alleged as one of the cauſes of his diſgrace." The Spaniſh miniſter, in reply, declares, "that the king of Spain does not conſider himſelf as reſponſible for the vain and idle diſcourſes of the Duc de Ripperda, whoſe extravagancies had at length induced his Catholic majeſty not only to diveſt him of his offices, but to ſecure the perſon of a miniſter as culpable as dangerous. But he acknowledged, that the Duc de Ripperda was juſtified in declaring, that the good correſpondence and friendſhip of England and Spain depended on the ſpeedy reſtitution of Gibraltar, agreeably to the poſitive engagements of the king of England." This extraordinary man, after his diſgrace, eſcaped from the tower of Segovia, where he was cloſely confined, and ſought for refuge in England, where he reſided three years in great pomp and ſplendor. But not finding his wild ſchemes and projects of revenge likely to be adopted by the Britiſh court, he took a ſudden reſolution to offer his ſervices to Muley Abdalla, emperor of Morocco, by whom they were received with eagerneſs; and embracing the Mahommedan faith, he was created a Baſſa and prime miniſter and Vizier of the empire. After experiencing divers viciſſitudes of fortune he expired at Tetuan, October 1737, profeſſing himſelf a true and ſincere penitent; and being received as ſuch into the boſom of the holy Catholic church, in the communion of which he was originally educated; though early in life he had abjured the errors of Popery, and embraced the proteſtant faith, which he afterwards renounced on entering into the ſervice of Spain: on receiving abſolution from a Monk of Mequinez, he became, although previouſly agonized with remorſe, calm

and

and ſerene, and at laſt died with cheerfulneſs and hope. —Such is the faſcination of the Roman Catholic religion.

The political connection between Ruſſia and Sweden, ſo recently formed, was already much weakened by the unexpected death of the Czar, Peter the Great, January 1725; and the harmony between England and Sweden was, in conſequence of that event, after an interval of intrigue and negotiation, completely reſtored. This monarch muſt be regarded as the moſt extraordinary phænomenon of the age in which he lived. Previous to his acceſſion to the throne of his anceſtors, Ruſſia was ſcarcely known as an European power, except by her occaſional wars with Poland, and by the commercial intercourſe which ſhe maintained with England, through the medium of the remote port of Archangel, ſituated at the extremity of the Frozen Ocean. PETER, who, by a rare conjunction of qualities, joined a moſt daring and ardent ſpirit of enterpriſe to a clear and ſolid judgment, early entertained the vaſt deſign of civilizing his immenſe dominions—burning with ambition to occupy a conſpicuous and leading ſtation amongſt the powers of Europe. With what ſucceſs he proſecuted and accompliſhed this grand project, it is foreign to the purpoſe of the preſent hiſtory to relate. After ſurmounting, by the inceſſant labor of thirty years, difficulties inſuperable to any other man, he lived to ſee himſelf in poſſeſſion of all which had engaged his wiſhes and his hopes—applauded as a hero, venerated as a legiſlator. By his conqueſts he had ſubjected various rich and populous provinces to his dominion, and in the midſt of them he had built a magnificent city bearing the name of its founder, and which will atteſt to future and ſucceſſive ages the grandeur and ſublimity of his genius. He introduced diſcipline into his armies; he created a powerful navy; and

and in the room of Aſiatic ignorance, prejudice, and barbariſm, he ſubſtituted the arts, the learning, the cuſtoms and manners of Europe. His ſyſtem of improvement and aggrandiſement has been eagerly and invariably purſued by his ſucceſſors in the empire, and with a degree of ſucceſs which may reaſonably excite univerſal jealouſy and apprehenſion: for to the rapid and unexampled increaſe of the power of Ruſſia no other European ſtate bears a juſt or relative proportion. The king of England, alarmed at the great naval equipments of the empreſs Catherine, upon whom the imperial crown of the late Czar her huſband had by his will devolved, profeſſed, with great oſtentation of generoſity, to feel an extreme apprehenſion leſt Sweden ſhould be eventually endangered by them. And though Sweden, clearly perceiving that Sleſwic was the real object of his ſolicitude, openly declared herſelf in perfect amity with Ruſſia; a ſtrong ſquadron under Sir Charles Wager ſailed, by order of the king of England, to the Baltic, early in the year 1726, with expreſs directions not to ſuffer the Ruſſian fleets to leave their ports, till the empreſs had obviated all ground of ſuſpicion by an explicit declaration of her pacific intentions. The empreſs, though highly offended at this imperious requiſition, proteſted, "that nothing was farther from her thoughts, than any deſign to diſturb the peace of the North—expreſſing at the ſame time her aſtoniſhment, that ſhe had not received his majeſty's letter until his fleet was at anchor before Revel; a procedure totally inconſiſtent with the amity ſo long maintained between her kingdoms and the crown of Great Britain." That Ruſſia, at leaſt after the death of the Czar, was willing and deſirous to maintain amity with Great Britain, and even with Hanover, as connected with Britain, appears from the

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tenor of the negotiations carried on in the ſummer of 1725; when the Czarina declared her readineſs to concede in all other points, provided Sleſwic were reſtored to the duke of Holſtein, or an equivalent found for it. To this idea of an equivalent the king of England profeſſed not to object; but after much laborious diſcuſſion of this knotty point, no equivalent could be deviſed; though, had not Hanover been at this period the darling care of England, Bremen and Verden would probably have been deemed a very fit and commodious one. Notwithſtanding the declaration of the empreſs, Sir Charles Wager, who had been joined at Copenhagen by a Daniſh ſquadron, continued in his ſtation till the ſeaſon was too far advanced to admit of any farther naval operations. Thus provoked, the Czarina acceded in form to the treaty of Vienna (Auguſt 1726). And the government of Sweden, perceiving Ruſſia unable to cope with the naval power of England, and feeling ſenſibly the operative influence of the *golden ſhowers* which now diffuſed themſelves in rich profuſion over that barren land, acceded, March 1727, to the treaty of Hanover *. Two other powerful ſquadrons were alſo at this period

* In conſequence of the unlimited votes of credit paſſed by the commons in 1726 and 1727, it appears that the ſum of 435,000l. was expended during thoſe two years in *ſecret ſervices*, neceſſary, to adopt the language of parliament, "to fulfil and perfect his majeſty's engagements for ſecuring the peace of Europe." In the month of June 1726, when the Britiſh fleet was actually in the Baltic, Mr. Poyntz, ambaſſador at the court of Stockholm, preſented a MEMORIAL to that court, declaring, "That his Britannic majeſty, always attentive to preſerve the peace of the North, had no ſooner concluded the treaty of Hanover but he had communicated it to Sweden, and deſired its acceſſion thereto—that it was with great concern he ſaw this negotiation lengthened out to above ſix months, and that in the mean time Sweden had entered

period fitted out at an immenſe expence, though, as far as appears, without any determinate object; and indicating only the jealous fears and reſtleſs ſurmiſes of the king of England. One of theſe, under the command Sir John Jennings, with a body of land-forces on board, cruized for a conſiderable time off the coaſts of Spain, to the great conſternation of the inhabitants, but attempted no act of hoſtility. Another fleet under rear-admiral Hoſier ſailed for the Weſt-Indies, with orders to block up the galleons in the Spaniſh harbors; or to capture them, in caſe they ſhould preſume to venture out. But his inſtructions authorizing no farther or more direct act of hoſtility, and the Spaniards having reconveyed, on the firſt intelligence of this armament, their treaſures from Porto Bello to Panama, this gallant officer was compelled to remain inactive in his ſtation till the greater part of his men, and at length the admiral himſelf,

tered into engagements with other powers (alluding to the acceſſion of the emperor, April 1726, to the treaty of Stockholm, of February 1724); notwithſtanding which, his majeſty, fearing theſe delays ſhould endanger Sweden, to ſhew his exactneſs in fulfilling his engagements and his attention to the ſuccor of Sweden, was willing to put that crown in poſſeſſion of the good fruits of its acceſſion, even before it had acceded, by ſending a powerful ſquadron into the Baltic *without any requiſition thereof*—that the Britiſh admiral had been preſented to his Swediſh majeſty, to aſſure him, that if he thought himſelf in any immediate danger from the armament of his neighbors, he was in that caſe to concert meaſures with his majeſty for the defence of Sweden; but that while the ſaid admiral continued at Stockholm, his Swediſh majeſty had graciouſly anſwered in writing, THAT HAVING A DEFENSIVE ALLIANCE WITH RUSSIA, HE THOUGHT HIMSELF IN NO DANGER FROM THENCE.—If after the departure of the Engliſh fleet any misfortune ſhould happen to Sweden for want of timely precautions, it is hoped ſuch misfortune will not be imputed to his Britannic majeſty. And the ambaſſador concludes with ſaying, that his majeſty cannot imagine that the fear of danger ought not to be a ſufficient inducement to guard againſt

himſelf, periſhed deplorably by the diſeaſes of that deſtructive climate. The ſhips alſo were ſaid to be ruined by the worms; and loud and general complaints were made in England of the improvident and wanton waſte of lives and money, in this unaccountable and diſaſtrous expedition.

During the ſeſſion of the preceding year, 1725, the earl of Macclesfield, lord high chancellor of Great Britain, was impeached, by the houſe of commons, of high crimes and miſdemeanors, upon the ground of his having made unuſual and exorbitant profits from the ſale of places—as alſo from the abuſe of his truſt, as general guardian of the perſons and eſtates of orphans and lunatics; and, after a trial of twenty days, he was convicted by the peers, and ſentenced to pay a fine of 30,000l. and to impriſonment in the tower till the ſame was paid.—A memorable example of the upright and impartial adminiſtration of criminal juſtice in Great Britain. He was ſucceeded in the chancellorſhip by Sir Peter King, created baron King of Ockham in Surry, who had acquired great and deſerved reputation in his former ſtation of lord chief juſtice of England. But to this new and more elevated employment his talents were

againſt thoſe dangers; nor that the looſe and uncertain hopes of future advantages from Ruſſia can afford a reaſonable motive to reject the friendſhip of thoſe powers which have ever been the ſupport of Sweden; nor that thoſe imaginary and inſidious promiſes can be balanced againſt a clear and net ſubſidy of 100,000 ducats per month, to commence from your majeſty's acceſſion to the treaty of Hanover, and with a proſpect of more conſiderable aſſiſtance in caſe of need." Surely the graveſt counſellor in the ſenate of Sweden muſt have found it difficult to read this memorial with a ſerious countenance; for who ever heard, before, of an armament ſent out of pure good-will to reſcue a nation from the danger of its own alliances?

not

not deemed equally adapted: and on his reſignation the great ſeal was conſigned to lord Talbot, a nobleman of the higheſt mental accompliſhments, of profound profeſſional knowledge, and whoſe private life was the mirror of every virtue. His death, which moſt unhappily took place ſoon after his advancement, in the vigor of his age, was honored with the deepeſt expreſſions of national veneration and ſorrow. He was ſucceeded by Sir Philip Yorke, lord chief juſtice of England, created baron Hardwicke, who preſided in the court of chancery with high reputation no leſs than nineteen years.

At this period the king revived the antient order of knights of the Bath—an inſtitution which affords a cheap and honorable recompenſe to men who have merited of the public, ſo long as ſuch diſtinctions retain in the public eſtimation their preſent artificial and ideal value*.

The parliament of Great Britain being convened January 1727, the king informed the two houſes "that the alliance offenſive and defenſive concluded between Spain and the emperor had laid the foundation of a moſt exorbitant and formidable power—a power levelled againſt the deareſt intereſts and privileges of the Engliſh nation, which muſt either ſurrender Gibraltar to Spain, and acquieſce in the emperor's uſurped exerciſe of commerce, or reſolve vigorouſly to defend their undoubted rights. He aſſured them that it was a ſecret article of this alliance to place the Pretender upon the throne of Great Britain; and that Ruſſia was actuated by the ſame views, which ſhe had however been prevented from taking

* To attempt with philoſophical ſeverity to expoſe the frivoloufneſs of theſe diſtinctions, were "to reaſon too curiouſly."

"Theſe little things are great to little man."

any

any ſteps to accompliſh by the recent operations of the Britiſh fleet in the Baltic. Two other ſquadrons, he ſaid, had been equipped, the advantage and glory accruing to the nation from which ſufficiently ſpoke their praiſe.—And he concluded with informing them, that the king of Spain had actually ordered his ambaſſador to quit the kingdom, leaving a memorial containing a formal demand for the reſtitution of Gibraltar." The commons, in reply to his majeſty's ſpeech, voted a moſt loyal and zealous addreſs, expreſſing "their determination to ſtand by and ſupport his majeſty with their lives and fortunes againſt all his enemies; and engaging not only cheerfully and effectually to raiſe the ſupplies neceſſary for the preſent exigency, but to enable his majeſty to make good his engagements with his allies, in order to preſerve the balance of power in Europe and undoubted rights of the crown of Great Britain." In vain was it urged by the patriots in oppoſition, "that it was ſufficient on this occaſion to return thanks to his majeſty for his moſt gracious ſpeech, and appoint a day for taking it into conſideration, without precipitately pledging themſelves to ſupport meaſures the rectitude and wiſdom of which they had as yet been furniſhed with no means to aſcertain; that the addreſs implied an approbation of meaſures taken to prevent dangers. But could this be done with propriety without knowing of what nature thoſe meaſures were, or whether the dangers alleged were imaginary or real? On this occaſion they ſaid the advice of the houſe might be quite as neceſſary as its ſupport; that the queſtion of peace and war was the moſt momentous which could fall under the cognizance of that aſſembly; that it was incumbent upon them not raſhly to decide, but maturely to deliberate; and for this purpoſe it was neceſſary that thoſe papers which could alone elucidate and eſtabliſh the facts ſtated in his majeſty's

jeſty's ſpeech, ſhould be laid before them." Sir William Wyndham remarked, that of late years our counſels had been in a ſtate of perpetual fluctuation; that, Penelope-like, we were continually weaving and unravelling the ſame web—now raiſing, now depreſſing the power of the houſe of Auſtria, and engaging in ſucceſſive quarrels with every power of the continent, under the pretence of preſerving the balance of Europe." It was aſked by Mr. Hungerford, "by what fleets the Pretender was to be convoyed to England; and whether he propoſed to embark on the floating iſland of Gulliver—a ſcheme which ſeemed not more chimerical than the other circumſtances of this romantic tale. He hoped that matters were not yet carried to ſuch deſperate lengths, but that means of accommodation might be found without engaging the nation in a war, which could only prove an aggravation of misfortunes." Sir Thomas Hanmer declared, that if the dangers which this nation was now ſaid to be threatened with, were ſo real and ſo imminent as ſome pretended, he would be one of the foremoſt in recommending ſpeedy and vigorous reſolutions. But he acknowledged his incredulity; theſe dangers appeared to him mere phantoms, diſtant and almoſt indiſcernible. And as to the Pretender, though his name might be converted to a political uſe by foreign princes, in order to frighten and alarm us; his intereſt was never ſo low, nor his party ſo deſpicable, as at preſent; and all mention of him in this day's debate ought to be left entirely out of the queſtion. He confeſſed himſelf extremely apprehenſive that the acquiſition of certain foreign dominions had ſown the ſeeds which had now produced theſe diviſions and diſturbances, which menaced Europe with a general war; and that we had involved ourſelves in our preſent difficulties by COMPLIANCES, unaccountable on any poſſible ground connected with the national intereſts; or which

which could be dictated by any other motive than the ſecurity of thoſe acquiſitions." Theſe reaſonings, however, were too weak to have the leaſt influence on the deciſion of the houſe; and the addreſs was carried on the diviſion by a majority of 251 againſt 81 voices. The demand of the king of Spain, mentioned in the ſpeech from the throne, and alluded to by Sir Thomas Hanmer, was founded upon what his Catholic majeſty affected to conſider as a poſitive engagement of the king of England himſelf; who, in order to facilitate the accompliſhment of the purpoſes which were at that time the object of negotiation at the court of Madrid, had, in a letter written in his own hand to the king of Spain, flattered that monarch with the idea of this reſtitution; which was afterwards, in conſequence of the indignation excited by the mere ſuggeſtion of this project to the houſe of commons, laid aſide as wholly impracticable; not however without leaving an apparent ſtain, or at leaſt caſting a certain ſhade, upon the honor of the king*. Such was the umbrage given by the

* Of this celebrated letter from the king of England to the king of Spain, the following is a tranſlated copy from the French original:—

"SIR, MY BROTHER,

"I HAVE learned with great ſatisfaction from the report of my ambaſſador at your court, that your majeſty is at laſt reſolved to remove the obſtacles that have for ſome time delayed the entire accompliſhment of our union. Since, from the confidence which your majeſty expreſſes towards me, I may look upon the treaties which have been in queſtion between us as re-eſtabliſhed, and that accordingly the inſtruments neceſſary for carrying on the trade of my ſubjects will be delivered out; I do no longer heſitate to aſſure your majeſty of my readineſs to ſatisfy you with regard to your demand touching the reſtoration of Gibraltar, promiſing you to make uſe of the firſt favorable opportunity to regulate this article with the conſent of my parliament. And to give your majeſty a farther proof of my affection, I have ordered my ambaſſador, as ſoon as the negotiation with which he has been charged ſhall

the king's ſpeech to the court of Vienna, that M. de Palm, the Imperial reſident at London, was ordered by the emperor to preſent a remonſtrance to the Britiſh court, framed in terms unuſually bold and pointed, charging the king with "calumnious miſrepreſentations, and with hazarding aſſertions void of all foundation. He affirmed that there was no *offenſive* alliance ſubſiſting between the Imperial and Spaniſh crowns; that the article relating to the Pretender was an ABSOLUTE NULLITY; and that the reſtitution of Gibraltar, however juſt the claim of the king of Spain, was foreign to the purpoſe of the treaty." The two houſes expreſſed, in a formal addreſs to the throne, their indignation at the inſolence of this memorial, which they ſtyle an extravagant inſult upon his majeſty, and a preſumptuous and vain attempt to inſtil into the minds of his faithful ſubjects a diſtruſt of his royal word." As no poſitive evidence has however yet been adduced to confirm the aſſertions of the king of England, it is probable that the intelligence received reſpecting this political myſtery did not merit that implicit credit which, prediſpoſed by the credulity of habitual apprehenſion and ſuſpicion, the court of London appears to have given to it—although lord Townſhend heſitated not

ſhall be finiſhed, to propoſe to your majeſty *new engagements to be entered into in concert and jointly with France*, ſuitable to the preſent conjuncture, not only for ſtrengthening our union, but alſo for ſecuring the tranquility of Europe. Your majeſty may be perſuaded that I on my part will ſhew all facility imaginable, promiſing myſelf that you will do the ſame for the mutual benefit of our kingdoms—being moſt perfectly,

"Sir, my brother,

"Your majeſty's good brother,

June 1, 1721. GEORGE, *R.*

"*To the king of Spain, Monſieur my brother.*"

But

not to declare in the houſe of lords, "that if the ſafety of the ſtate permitted to lay the advices in poſſeſſion of government before the houſe, their lordſhips would no more queſtion the certainty of ſuch an article than if they had been preſent at the ſigning of it." On the other hand, count Palm in his memorial declares, "that his Imperial majeſty was ſtruck with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment that the king of Great Britain could ſuffer himſelf to be prevailed upon to declare from the royal throne to that moſt renowned nation, as certain and undoubted facts, things abſolutely void of all foundation.—And the ambaſſador declares that his Imperial majeſty has expreſsly authoriſed and commanded him moſt ſolemnly to affirm in his name, and upon his Imperial word, that there exiſts no ſecret article or convention whatſoever which contains or can tend to prove the leaſt tittle of what has been alleged." And in another part of this famous memorial

But this, though the chief, was not the ſole ground upon which the king of Spain reſted his claim of reſtitution. Towards the concluſion of lord Stair's embaſſy at Paris, lord Stanhope went over to France charged with a ſecret commiſſion. And the cardinal Dubois, after his departure, informed the ambaſſador, "that lord Stanhope had given a verbal promiſe to the regent, or at leaſt what the regent underſtood as ſuch, for the reſtoration of Gibraltar—that the regent thus authoriſed, had poſitively and formally aſſured the king of Spain that Gibraltar ſhould be reſtored; and that the honor of his highneſs as well as that of the king was now engaged for its accompliſhment, and that a failure in this point might be attended with diſaſtrous conſequences."—That lord Stanhope ſhould be impowered to offer an abſolute ceſſion of Gibraltar is, however, not credible; as the king of England himſelf acknowledges in his letter to the king of Spain the conſent of parliament to be neceſſary; and the prejudices of the kingdom with regard to Gibraltar were far too great and obvious to admit the ſuppoſition that this conſent could be at any time believed eaſily attainable. It is probable, therefore, that the offer was made by the Engliſh court chiefly to amuſe, though the king and his miniſters were certainly not averſe to the ſurrender of this invidious conqueſt.——*Vide Hardwicke ſtate papers.*

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he proteſts "that there exiſts not even a pretence to ſay that this treaty can be grievous or hurtful to a nation for which his Imperial majeſty has the greateſt affection and eſteem, and whoſe glorious exploits and important ſuccors no time will efface out of his memory." The emperor was believed to be envious of the power and grandeur of the Houſe of Lunenburg ſince its acceſſion to the throne of Great Britain, to a degree which the zealous and uniform attachment of the princes of that houſe to the intereſts of the Imperial family could never ſoften. But that he ſhould ſeriouſly liſten to any propoſals from the court of Madrid in favor of the houſe of Stuart, from whoſe gratitude he had little to expect, and from whoſe deeply-rooted animoſity and revenge he might eventually have every thing to fear, carries with it the face of great improbability. Highly reſenting nevertheleſs the conduct of the king of England, and conſidering himſelf as abandoned by the treaty of Hanover, he had in the courſe of the preceding year (April 1726) acceded to the ſecret article of the treaty of Stockholm; from which æra the exorbitant power of the houſe of Auſtria, and the danger to which the balance of power and the liberties of Europe were conſequently expoſed, had become the faſhionable theme of declamation in the court and parliament of Great Britain.

With the memorial alſo was tranſmitted from Vienna a letter from the chancellor count Zinzendorf to count Palm, expreſsly commanding him, in the name of his imperial majeſty, after preſenting the memorial to the king of Great Britain, to publiſh it, together with the letter annexed, for the information of the Britiſh nation. The chancellor Zinzendorf affirms in this letter, "that it is eaſy to ſee that the ſpeech was made for no other purpoſe but to excite the nation to a rupture and open war with the emperor and Spain; and to make the parliament

approve

approve the precipitate and burthenſome meaſures *which the government has taken for private ends too well known.*— That on the firſt report of theſe falſe ſuppoſitions, the emperor and the king of Spain, in order to ſilence them, propoſed a formal act *de non offendendo*, into which all the contracting parties of the treaties of Vienna and Hanover might enter, till ſuch time as a definitive agreement might have taken place; but that this propoſition was rejected. He ſays, that the articles of the quadruple alliance are expreſsly and publicly laid down as the unalterable baſis of the treaty of Vienna, and that to affirm that by a ſecret pact concluded at the ſame time, engagements have been entered into by their Imperial and Catholic majeſties, repugnant to the ſame, is an outrageous inſult to the majeſty of the two contracting powers, who have a right to demand a reparation proportioned to the enormity of the affront. And that the high contracting parties had no other view than that of making peace between themſelves, without injuring any one elſe." The allegations contained in this letter and memorial ſeem but too well founded; but the intemperate language of theſe papers gave high and juſt offence; and Mr. Shippen, Mr. Hungerford, Sir William Wyndham, and all the leaders of oppoſition in parliament, warmly concurred in the addreſs preſented to the throne *on this occaſion*; and which paſſed the houſe without a diſſentient vote. And an order was ſent to M. de Palm, ſignifying "that the ſaid Palm having delivered into the hands of his majeſty, at his late audience, a memorial highly injurious to the honor and dignity of his crown, and having alſo publicly diſperſed the ſame with a letter from the count de Zinzendorf to him the ſaid Palm, ſtill more inſolent than the memorial, his majeſty looked upon him no longer as a public miniſter, and required him forthwith to depart out of this kingdom." Vigorous preparations

were now made on both ſides for war; and before the end of the ſeſſion, the king informed the parliament that the fortreſs of Gibraltar was actually beſieged. The forces of Great Britain were augmented by ſea and land. Thirty thouſand Swedes, Danes, and Heſſians, were taken into Britiſh pay. And amongſt other more uſual ways and means of providing the ſupplies called for on this occaſion, the king was empowered, by a clauſe of appropriation in one of the revenue bills of the year, "to apply ſuch ſums as ſhould be neceſſary for making good the expences and engagements which had been or ſhould be made before the 25th of September next, for the purpoſes of eſtabliſhing the ſecurity of commerce and reſtoring the tranquillity of Europe." And it was in vain urged, "that this mode of aſking and granting ſupplies was in the higheſt degree unparliamentary—that ſuch an unlimited power ought never to be given under a free government—that ſuch confidence in the crown might be attended, through the influence of evil miniſters, with the moſt dangerous conſequences—that no proviſion was made for the reſponſibility of thoſe entruſted with the diſpoſal of this money—that the conſtitution could no otherwiſe be preſerved, than by a ſtrict adherence to the eſſential parliamentary forms of granting ſupplies upon eſtimates, and of appropriating thoſe ſupplies to ſervices and occaſions publicly avowed, and judged neceſſary—and that ſuch an unwarrantable delegation of authority transfers that diſcretion to the crown which can with ſafety be veſted in the legiſlature alone." The ſum of 370,000l. iſſued in exchequer bills, was alſo charged on the ſurplus produce of certain duties appertaining to the ſinking fund, towards the expences of the war, notwithſtanding the vigorous oppoſition of Sir Joſeph Jekyl and Mr. Pulteney, who demonſtrated how eſſentially the efficacy of the fund would, by ſuch a practice, be impaired. The latter of theſe gentlemen, in particular, affirmed

firmed, "That by charging new loans upon old and appropriated surpluſſes, the public were grosly deceived; that by theſe expedients to put off the evil day, taxes would be perpetuated; and that notwithſtanding the great merit aſſumed by the inventors of this boaſted ſcheme of redemption, the national debt had really increaſed ſince the ſetting up of that pompous project." This inſidious alienation of a fund hitherto regarded as ſacred was the more remarkable, as the houſe of commons, in reply to the ſpeech from the throne, expreſsly recommending to their attention the ſtate of the ſinking fund, had ſaid—"And that all who wiſh well to the peace and quiet of your majeſty's government, may have the ſatisfaction to ſee that our preſent neceſſities ſhall make no interruption in the progreſs of that deſirable work, of gradually reducing the national debt; we will conſider of the moſt proper method for immediately applying the produce of the ſinking fund to the uſes for which it was ſo wiſely contrived, and to which it ſtands now appropriated." The court having now carried all its meaſure by great and deciſive majorities, the parliament was prorogued May 15, 1727.

Sir John Norris at this time ſailing with a powerful fleet to the Baltic was joined by a Daniſh ſquadron.—But the Czarina dying at this critical juncture, and the politics of the court of Peterſburg ſuſtaining another unexpected change, the armament became happily uſeleſs. Meantime, through the active and ſeaſonable intervention of the court of Verſailles—reluctant to carry matters to farther extremity againſt the emperor, while ſupported by Spain, whoſe friendſhip ſhe was ſolicitous to recover—preliminary articles of accommodation were ſigned, May 1727, by the miniſters of all the belligerent powers; who, though much exaſperated againſt each other, were actuated by no motives of ſufficient weight to induce them to involve anew all Europe in the horrors of a

general war. Theſe articles imported, that hoſtilities ſhould immediately ceaſe; that the charter of the Oſtend company ſhould be ſuſpended for ſeven years; and that a congreſs ſhould be opened in four months, at Aix-la Chapelle, afterwards transferred to Soiſſons, to ſettle the terms of a final pacification *.

The king of England ſeemed at length to have ſurmounted all his political difficulties; and if we cannot always applaud the juſtice or the wiſdom of his counſels, it muſt at leaſt be acknowledged, that they were enforced with an extraordinary degree of vigor and ſucceſs. A fair proſpect of peace and tranquillity now ſeemed to open; and the king embraced with his uſual eagerneſs this favorable opportunity of reviſiting his electoral dominions, to which he ever retained a fond and partial attachment, and by which he was in a degree not inferior revered and beloved. Embarking at Greenwich, June 3, 1727; he landed in Holland on the 7th, and immediately ſet out on his journey to Hanover. On the road between Delden and Oſnaburg he was ſeized with a kind of lethargic paralyſis; and feeling himſelf attacked by the ſtroke of death, he ſaid to the nobleman who accompanied him in the carriage, "*C'eſt fait de moi.*" He appeared, however, extremely anxious to reach the capital of his dominions; but on his arrival at the palace of his brother, the biſhop of Oſnaburg, it was found impoſſible to proceed; and on Sunday the 11th of June 1727, he expired, in the 68th year of his age, and 13th of

* So ſeriouſly nevertheleſs did France enter into the views of England, or rather Hanover, at this criſis, for the abaſement of the houſe of Auſtria, that ſhe had actually engaged for the payment of an annual ſubſidy to Denmark of 350,000 rix-dollars, for four years; and likewiſe of 50,000 ducats monthly to Sweden, to commence from the period of her acceſſion to the treaty of Hanover.

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his reign—leaving iſſue by his conſort Sophia Dorothea, heireſs of the houſe of Zell, George, ſucceſſor to the crown, and a daughter, married previous to the acceſſion of the Brunſwic family to the royal dignity, to Frederic William, king of Pruſſia.

If this prince was not diſtinguiſhed for ſhining talents or heroic virtues, much leſs can we diſcern, on a general review of his character, any remarkable deficiency of underſtanding or propenſity to vice. Acceding to the crown of Great Britain when far advanced in life, he ſeemed ever to conſider himſelf rather as elector than as king: and the influence and power of Great Britain were of little eſtimation in his eyes, when directed to any other end than the aggrandizement of his native country. With reſpect to the internal government of his kingdoms, the rectitude and benevolence of his intentions were always apparent: but he was, from the nature of his ſituation, compelled to throw himſelf into the hands of a party; and from the eaſineſs of his diſpoſition he was too often perſuaded to acquieſce in meaſures which a more perfect acquaintance with the real ſtate of facts and opinions would have ſhewn to be as contrary to his intereſts, as there is reaſon to believe they frequently were to his inclination. In the view of Europe at large, he ſuſtained the character of a prudent, an able, and a fortunate prince. And if, in contemplating the hiſtory of this reign, we have juſt cauſe to lament the weakneſſes and defects of the external ſyſtem of policy by which its counſels were influenced; we have ample reaſon, on the other hand, to expreſs our ardent wiſhes, that the noble ſpeculative principles of government, and of liberty civil and religious, which this monarch was not only ready but anxious on all occaſions to avow, and by which the general tenor of his conduct was regulated, may never

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ceaſe to be the diſtinguiſhing and favorite characteriſtics of the royal and electoral houſe of BRUNSWIC.

With reſpect to the general ſtate of literature and the arts during this reign, it may ſuffice to obſerve, that notwithſtanding the total neglect of the court, and the violence of party rage, deſcriptive of this as well as of the former reign, they continued to flouriſh in a very high degree; and we view with ſurpriſe, amidſt ſcenes of contention and turbulence, a conſtellation of geniuſes ſhedding a peculiar luſtre over this period of Britiſh hiſtory. Scarcely had LOCKE, TEMPLE, and DRYDEN, the departing luminaries of the former age, ſunk below the weſtern ſky; when ADDISON, SWIFT, POPE, SHAFTESBURY and BOLINGBROKE aroſe in the eaſt. The writings of Addiſon, in particular, merit a moſt diſtinguiſhed and honorable mention. Amidſt the din of hoſtile and malignant factions, they exhibit an almoſt cloudleſs picture of urbanity, candor, good ſenſe, and beneficence. The advantage which the community has reaped from the wide and almoſt boundleſs diffuſion of them, no power of calculation can aſcertain. And excluſive of their moral and political merit, his exquiſite delineations of life and manners will charm as long as our nation and language exiſt. In poetry, Pope roſe far ſuperior to all his contemporaries; and if inferior to any in that mode of verſification which he choſe to adopt, he is inferior to Dryden alone. In the province of architecture, Gibbs and Kent, with unequal ſteps and at almoſt viewleſs diſtance, followed the celebrated Sir Chriſtopher Wren; of whom the magnificent plan for rebuilding the city of London in 1666 —an effort of genius which can never be contemplated without admiration and indignant regret—would have alone ſufficed to perpetuate the memory. And at this

period

period the Engliſh ſchool of painting could produce, a Thornhill excepted, no greater artiſt than Jervas, whoſe name is indeed immortalized—not by the "warmth divine" of his own performances, but of "the verſe eternal which embalms the dead." During the courſe of this reign, Sir ISAAC NEWTON terminated his long career of life; but his career of fame and glory will be coeval only with that of the world itſelf, whoſe laws he has developed and explained, with an energy and ſagacity wholly ſtupendous, and approaching, perhaps, the limits of ſupernatural intelligence.

K. GEORGE II.

ON the arrival of an expreſs from Oſnaburg with the intelligence of the death of the king, the new monarch, aſſembling the privy council, commanded the members to be ſworn anew; and declared to them his firm purpoſe to preſerve inviolate the conſtitution in church and ſtate, and to cultivate thoſe alliances which his father had made with foreign princes. All the great officers of ſtate were continued in their places; and it was at once apparent that the political ſyſtem eſtabliſhed by the late king would ſuffer no eſſential alteration. The prime miniſter, Sir Robert Walpole, ſeemed even to poſſeſs an higher and more excluſive ſhare of favor and confidence than before. Lord Townſhend, ſecretary of ſtate for foreign affairs, a nobleman not deſtitute of knowledge or talents—open, generous, and ſincere—was alone able for a time to preſerve ſome degree of independent political conſequence: but finding the competition too unequal, and his power and influence rapidly on the wane, he

he retired—a ſtateſman cured of ambition—to cultivate his paternal acres *. The duke of Newcaſtle, his colleague, was a man illuſtrious by his birth, affable and popular in his addreſs, liberal in his ſentiments, and magnificent in his expences. But his capacity was very inadequate to his elevated ſtation. With intentions diſintereſted and upright, his zeal and attachment to the houſe of Hanover too frequently prompted him to inconſiderate compliances. And to oppoſe the meaſures of the court, however contrary to the intereſts of the nation, argued in his eſtimation criminal diſaffection to the king's perſon and government. Mr. Pelham, ſecretary at war, and brother to the duke, was eſteemed for his probity, reſpected for his talents, and beloved for his candor. The earl of Cheſterfield, ambaſſador at the Hague, and ſoon afterwards appointed lord Steward, who ſeemed ambitious to form himſelf upon the model of lord Bolingbroke, though he roſe not to an equality with that great and unrivalled original, was at once a man of wit, of pleaſure, and of buſineſs. The high poliſh of his manners, approaching perhaps the verge of frivolity, indicated rather the accompliſhed courtier than the commanding ſtateſman; and left an impreſſion ſomewhat unfavorable to the ſolidity of his judgment, though

* A cotemporary poet of no ignoble fame has celebrated the praiſes of this reſpectable nobleman in the following elegant lines:

" ———Townshend, whom all the world admires,
From all the world illuſtriouſly retires;
And calmly wand'ring in his Raynham roves,
By lake, or ſpring, by thicket, lawn, or groves;
Where verdant hills, or vales, where fountains ſtray,
Charming each thought of idle pomp away;
Unenvied views the ſplendid toils of ſtate,
In private happy, as in public great."

though his political opinions appear to have been uniformly clear and juſt. As a ſpeaker, his elocution was elegant, and his ſtyle flowing and chaſte; and his capacity, naturally excellent, was improved by diligent literary cultivation *. John duke of Argyle was diſtinguiſhed beyond all his cotemporaries, by an uncommon union of civil and military talents. He had ſignalized himſelf in the wars of Flanders under the late duke of Marlborough, whilſt yet in early youth, by a ſagacity of conduct ſurpaſſing his years, and by a ſpirit of gallantry which roſe to heroiſm. As commander in chief of the forces in North Britain, he was eminently inſtrumental in quelling the rebellion of 1715. And the firm and hereditary attachment of his family to the principles of liberty and whiggiſm rendered the name of Argyle dear to the majority of the people of Scotland, where his influence and popularity were boundleſs. His ſpeeches in parliament were characterized by a vehemence and energy, which rendered him, as a political adverſary, very formidable.

* The character of this nobleman—"Stanhope in wiſdom as in wit divine"—has been thought greatly to reſemble that of his maternal grandfather, the celebrated marquis of Halifax. Amongſt the "ſtate maxims" of the latter, is an obſervation, which alone might ſerve as a proof that he has not been applauded without reaſon for his ſagacity: "The prince is to take care that the greater part of the people may not be angry at the ſame time—for though the firſt beginning of their ill-humour ſhould be againſt one another, it will naturally end in anger againſt him." And of his wit we have the following excellent ſpecimen: After the Revolution, in which the marquis had borne a diſtinguiſhed part, many abſurd applications were made to him from perſons pretending great ſervices, for his recommendation to poſts and places under the government, which they were for the moſt part utterly unqualified to fill. Being at laſt wearied with their importunities, he ſaid "that he had frequently been told that the Roman republic had been ſaved by geeſe, but he never heard that thoſe geeſe were made conſuls."

formidable. He was not wanting in a very exalted idea of the importance of his ſervices and the luſtre of his talents. The high and lucrative offices which he held under the crown he ſeemed to regard rather as what it were injuſtice to with-hold, than favor to confer. He was imperious, paſſionate, and capricious, but honeſt, undiſguiſed, and magnanimous—troubleſome as a friend, but dangerous as an enemy. Lord Carteret was however, unqueſtionably, the only man connected with this adminiſtration, of whoſe abilities the Premier could entertain any reaſonable jealouſy or apprehenſion. Dignified and even ſtately in his deportment, the habitual ſuperiority he appeared to aſſume was ſuſtained by an extraordinary energy of genius and extent of knowledge. Deeply verſed in the labyrinths of foreign politics, he at once diſcerned and deſpiſed all the littleneſſes of that ſyſtem by which the Engliſh court had been governed, from the period of her connection with Hanover. Aſpiring in his views, reſolute in his temper, and diverted by no inferior or collateral object from the purſuits of his ambition, he ſeemed by the potency of his alliance to menace the miniſter whom he deigned to honor with his ſupport.

The entire produce of the civil liſt revenues, eſtimated at 800,000l. was, on the motion of Sir Robert Walpole, ſettled on the king for life, inſtead of the clear annual revenue of 700,000l. granted to the late monarch—not, however, without ſome debate and oppoſition. The incorrupt and inflexible Shippen obſerved, "That the ſum of 700,000l. was, at the acceſſion of his late majeſty, conſidered by all as an ample royal revenue; and it was to be hoped that in this reign many perſonal expences, particularly thoſe incurred in the frequent journeys to Hanover, would ceaſe. He affirmed, that the civil liſt revenue in the reign of the late queen

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did not in general exceed the ſum of 550,000l. and that the parliament was called upon only once in a reign of thirteen years to pay the debts contracted in her civil government; and theſe were occaſioned by the unparalleled inſtances of her piety and generoſity—eſpecially by her devoting 100,000l. per annum to the public ſervice during the war. But in the late reign 500,000l. had been twice voted for the diſcharge of the civil liſt debts; and laſt ſeſſion, he ſaid, a ſum of 125,000l. was granted for purpoſes not yet explained: notwithſtanding which there was yet a debt of 600,000l. unaccounted for; and therefore he ſuppoſed contracted in a manner not fit to be owned, or ſwallowed up in the bottomleſs gulph of ſecret ſervice. This amazing extravagance, he ſaid, had happened under the conduct of perſons pretending to ſurpaſs all their predeceſſors in the knowledge and care of the public revenue. But, inſtead of granting any addition to the civil liſt, he ſhould move that the duties appropriated to this purpoſe ſhould be continued to his majeſty, ſo as to make up the clear yearly ſum of 700,000l." The amendment, however, was rejected by a great majority; and in lieu of it, a reſolution founded upon a royal meſſage delivered to the houſe by Sir Paul Methuen, for ſettling the ſum of 100,000l. per ann. as a jointure upon the queen, paſſed without difficulty.

The parliament being diſſolved in Auguſt, a new parliament was convened in January 1728, of which Arthur Onſlow, Eſq. was choſen ſpeaker, and which ſeemed to vie, in all expreſſions of duty and loyalty, with the moſt loyal of its predeceſſors. The king aſſured them, in his ſpeech from the throne, of the abſolute neceſſity of continuing thoſe preparations which had hitherto *ſecured the nation*, the execution of the preliminaries, actually

tually ſigned, having been retarded by unexpected difficulties, raiſed chiefly by the obſtinate oppoſition of the court of Madrid, although the ratifications had been actually exchanged with the emperor. The ſum of 280,000l. was therefore voted for the maintenance of the Heſſian and Swediſh auxiliaries, and a ſubſidy of 100,000l. payable in four years to the duke of Wolfenbuttle; who, in return, took upon him to guarantee, by a formal treaty, to his Britannic majeſty the poſſeſſion of his three kingdoms, and to *keep in readineſs* for his ſervice a corps of 5000 men during the ſame term. This notable alliance occaſioned, however, ſome ſevere animadverſions; and Sir Joſeph Jekyl, maſter of the Rolls, a firm and zealous Whig, but one who carried not his complaiſance to the court ſo far as to abandon on any occaſion what he conceived to be the true intereſt of his country, in reply to Sir Robert Walpole, who had launched out into the higheſt praiſes of the treaty of Hanover, affirmed, "That whatever gloſs might be put upon ſuch meaſures, they were repugnant to the maxims by which England in former times had ſteered, and ſquared its conduct with relation to its intereſts abroad—that the navy was the natural ſtrength of Great Britain, its beſt defence and ſecurity; but if, in order to avoid a war, they ſhould be ſo free hearted as to buy and maintain the forces of foreign princes, they were never like to ſee an end of ſuch extravagant expences *."

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* It may deſerve mention, that the lord chancellor King was ſo ſtruck with the inexpreſſible abſurdity of this *proviſional treaty* with the duke of Wolfenbuttle, that he abſolutely refuſed to affix the great ſeal to it, till ratified by parliament, and the money actually voted. "What," ſays an able political writer of the laſt reign, "our hiſtories may hereafter ſay of this tranſaction I know not; but the perſons then at the head of the oppoſition *took the liberty* to declare upon that occaſion,

The houſe was even prevailed upon, during the ſuſpenſion of its good humour, to addreſs the king for a particular and diſtinct account of the ſum of 250,000l. charged in the general ſtatement of national expenditure to have been iſſued "for preſerving and reſtoring the peace of Europe." His majeſty, nevertheleſs, declined to comply with their requeſt; but informed them in general terms, that part of the money had been diſburſed by his late majeſty, conformably to the powers veſted in him by parliament; and the remainder by himſelf, for carrying on neceſſary and important ſervices, which required the greateſt ſecrecy. And he hoped that the houſe would repoſe the ſame confidence in him, and be aſſured that the money had been neceſſarily expended, agreeably to the ends for which it was granted. This anſwer, the houſe, upon calmer conſideration, thought fit to approve; Sir Robert Walpole affirming it to be "impoſſible that public ſervices ſhould be carried on, conſidering the great complication of intereſts on the Continent, if *every ſhilling* that was expended for the advancement of the common cauſe, and for maintaining the balance of Europe, was known to all the world:" though Mr. Pulteney, now in open oppoſition to the court, inveighed againſt this vague and looſe mode of accounting for the expenditure of the public money, as tending to render parliaments altogether inſignificant; to encourage and invite the moſt ſhameful embezzlements; and to ſcreen corrupt and rapacious miniſters from even

ſion, "that we paid for a great many forces to be in *readineſs* on account of the Hanover treaty; and laſt of all the GOOD WILL of his highneſs the duke of Wolfenbuttle was obtained, who engaged to guarantee ALL his majeſty's dominions with a body of 5000 men, not to be moved out of Holland or Germany, at ſo ſmall an expence as 25,000l. per ann. for four years."—*Caſe of the Hanover forces.*

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the poſſibility of detection and puniſhment. No impreſſion, however, was made by theſe reaſonings, as too plainly appeared by the diſcretionary vote of credit, paſſed at the requiſition of the court, by 237 voices againſt 101, previous to the cloſe of the ſeſſion.

In the courſe of the preſent year arrived in England Frederic prince of Wales, who had hitherto reſided at Hanover, as if it were determined to perpetuate the Hanoverian ſyſtem, by ſuffering no interruption of the original aſſociations and attachments of the reigning family. About this time died Erneſt Auguſtus, biſhop of Oſnaburg, only brother of the late king, and created by him duke of York, but never reſident in England. He was ſucceeded in the biſhopric by the elector of Cologne, agreeably to the *pactum* by which Oſnaburg is alternately poſſeſſed by a prince of the houſe of Brunſwic and that elector.

The congreſs at Soiſſons made little progreſs in the buſineſs of pacification. France and Spain were now perfectly reconciled; and the court of Madrid, confiding in the ſtrength of her ally, though her ſhort-lived friendſhip with the emperor was now at an end, became leſs ſolicitous for an accommodation with England. Loud and general exclamations were raiſed, and petitions preſented from the great mercantile towns to the houſe of commons, at the meeting of parliament early in the year 1729, complaining of the loſſes and obſtructions they had ſuſtained in their commerce, through the depredations of the Spaniards in the Weſt Indies. The houſe, in a grand committee, after an ample inveſtigation of the ſubject, paſſed a reſolution, juſtificatory of the inſtructions given to admiral Hoſier to ſeize the flota and galleons; and another, declaring that the Spaniards had violated the treaties ſubſiſting between the two crowns. And an addreſs was preſented to the king, deſiring

"defiring that his majefty would be graciouſly pleaſed to uſe his utmoſt endeavors to procure juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction for theſe injuries, and for ſecuring to his majeſty's ſubjects the free exerciſe of commerce and navigation to and from the Britiſh colonies in America;" which his majeſty aſſured them he would not fail to do. The houſe of peers alſo reſolving itſelf into a committee on the ſtate of the nation, and the letter of the late king to the king of Spain, touching the reſtitution of Gibraltar, among other ſtate-papers, being laid before them, a reſolution was moved, "That for the honor of his majeſty, and the preſervation and ſecurity of the trade and commerce of the kingdom, effectual care ſhould be taken, in the preſent treaty, that the king of Spain ſhould renounce, in explicit terms, all claim and pretenſion to Minorca and Gibraltar." After a violent debate the motion was negatived, but not without a ſtrong proteſt; and a ſecond motion, "That the houſe did entirely rely upon his majeſty, that he would, for maintaining the honor and ſecuring the trade of this kingdom, take effectual care in the preſent treaty to preſerve his undoubted right to Gibraltar and Minorca," paſſed in the affirmative. It is ſingular, that an addreſs was again preſented to the throne by the commons, deſiring to be informed in what manner a large ſum, ſtated to have been expended for reſtoring the peace of Europe, was diſpoſed of; to which an anſwer, ſimilar to that returned to the former addreſs, was given, in which the houſe had again the complaiſance to acquieſce. Previous to the receſs, the king declared his intention of viſiting his German dominions, leaving the queen ſole regent, under whoſe mild and equitable adminiſtration no cauſe of diſcontent or diſaffection aroſe. But Ireland had been for ſome time paſt convulſed with folly and faction, in conſequence of a patent granted to one Wood,

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by the late king, for coining a certain quantity of copper for the uſe of that kingdom, and which was confeſſedly much wanted for the purpoſes of commercial intercourſe. The coinage being found of a baſe and inferior quality, the famous Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, ſeized with eagerneſs the opportunity of venting his ſpleen and rancor againſt the government, by publiſhing a ſeries of tracts, in which he attempted to prove, that the ruin of the kingdom muſt be the inevitable conſequence of this abuſe. Lord Carteret, being now appointed to the government of Ireland, was compelled to iſſue, in his official capacity, a proclamation offering a reward for the diſcovery of the author of theſe ſeditious and libellous publications. Notwithſtanding which, this haughty and factious prieſt ventured to appear at all places of public reſort as uſual, and had even, in the preſence-chamber of the caſtle of Dublin, the boldneſs to expoſtulate with the lord lieutenant upon the pretended tyranny and iniquity of this proclamation, and preſumed to aſk, "how it was poſſible that his excellency could ſuffer it to be iſſued?" To which lord Carteret, indulging the ſympathies of friendſhip and genius, with equal elegance and magnanimity replied, *Res dura, et regni novitas, me talia cogunt moliri.* Under the adminiſtration of this nobleman peace and order were reſtored and eſtabliſhed, various excellent laws were enacted for the encouragement of manufactures, commerce, and agriculture, and many ſalutary regulations adopted in the civil departments of government. The beneficial effects of a liberal and enlightened policy were univerſally felt; and the parliament of that kingdom, in their unanimous approval of the meaſures of their preſent Governor, paid that homage to wiſdom which it had frequently been known to refuſe to power.

The congreſs of Soiſſons proving finally abortive, conferences were opened at Seville between the miniſters of France, Spain, and England, to the excluſion of the emperor, who conceived much reſentment at this affront; and a treaty was ſigned in the month of May 1729, of which his imperial majeſty openly and heavily complained to the Diet aſſembled at Ratiſbon, as contrary to the expreſs ſtipulations of the quadruple alliance. In the courſe of this year Victor Amadeus, king of Sardinia, reſigned his crown to his ſon Charles Emanuel, and retiring to the caſtle of Chamberri, eſpouſed the counteſs of St. Sebaſtian, who refuſed with diſdain the title, as ſhe could not participate in the power, of royalty. In October (1729) died Peter II. Czar of Muſcovy, and grandſon of Peter the Great, by the unfortunate Alexiowitz. He was ſucceeded on the throne of Ruſſia by the princeſs Anne Iwanowna, ducheſs of Courland, ſecond daughter of the Czar Iwan, elder brother to Peter the Great. Early in the following year died Pope Benedict XIII. and was ſucceeded by cardinal Corſini, already near 80 years of age, who nevertheleſs filled the Papal chair ten years under the name of Clement XII.

At this eventful period alſo a ſudden and ſurpriſing revolution, if under ſo deſpotic a government any revolution can ſurpriſe, took place at Conſtantinople, by the depoſition of the grand ſeignor Achmet III. and the elevation of his nephew Mahmout or Mahomet V. From the æra of the memorable victory obtained by the illuſtrious Sobieſki under the walls of Vienna, the Ottoman power had ſuffered a great and rapid decline; and Mahomet IV. who had ſucceeded when an infant to the throne, on the depoſition of his father the ſultan Ibrahim (A. D. 1648), was himſelf in conſequence of the general rage excited by the misfortunes of that diſaſtrous war, compelled to ſubmit

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to the ſame fate. During the ſhort and feeble reigns of his brothers Solyman II. and Achmet II. the triumphs of the Imperialiſts continued. The reign of the ſucceeding emperor Muſtapha II. ſon of Mahomet IV. was diſtinguiſhed by the famous battle of Zenta won by prince Eugene, and the conſequent treaty of Carlowitz. After a reign of ſeven years, the ſultan Muſtapha was, by another revolution, hurled from his throne, and his brother Achmet III. raiſed to the ſame high and dangerous pre-eminence. This prince is well known by his hoſpitable and generous reception of the king of Sweden, after the defeat of that monarch at Pultowa. Being afterwards involved in a war with the emperor Charles VI. his armies were repeatedly defeated by prince Eugene, and the war was terminated, greatly to the diſadvantage of the Turks, by a treaty concluded under the mediation of Great Britain at Paſſarowitz, A. D. 1718. The avarice and oppreſſion of his ſubſequent government, together with the war carried on negligently and unſucceſsfully againſt the Perſians, made the reign of Achmet odious to the people. Recourſe being had to a very unuſual and dangerous expedient in Turkey, the impoſition of a new tax called the *Bedead*, a ſpecies of exciſe very arbitrary in the collection, in order to defray the expence of this war, three Janiſaries, named Calil, Muſlu, and Ali, very obſcure men, fancying themſelves particularly aggrieved by it, aſſembled, in the abſence of the grand ſeignor and grand vizier then at Scutari, a conſiderable number of their comrades in the *Atmeidan*, where they preſented to them a naked ſword on which they had themſelves ſworn, and required of all who engaged with them to ſwear the death of the grand vizier, the Caimacan, and the Reis Effendi. The Aga of the Janiſaries repairing in haſte to the Atmeidan, Calil demanded if he were come to join the brave Muſſelmen who were

reſolved on a reformation in the ſtate, and the puniſhment of the tyrants? The Aga, being deſtitute of force to ſuppreſs the revolters, retired in ſilence. The ſultan, attended by the vizier, returned with precipitation on the firſt intelligence of this inſurrection at Conſtantinople, where they arrived at midnight. On the next morning, by order of the emperor, the ſtandard of Mahomet was diſplayed, but without effect; and the number of revolters continually increaſing, the ſeraglio was on the day following formally inveſted. Meaſures being now in preparation to force the gates of the palace, their aſtoniſhment was great to ſee the dead bodies of the proſcribed miniſters brought out on litters, preceded by an officer of the Boſtangis, who announced the condeſcenſion of the emperor, and commanded them in his name to ſeparate. The three leaders of the revolt, fully aware of the danger of their ſituation, expreſſed their diſſatisfaction at this conceſſion, and, declaring the ſultan Achmet unworthy of the throne, boldly exclaimed, that they would have ſultan Mahmoud for their ſovereign. The name of Mahmoud was repeated with loud acclamations, reſounding even to the inmoſt receſſes of the ſeraglio. The ſultan Achmet haſtily aſſembling a divan, aſked, with a faltering voice, what the rebels had yet to deſire; on which an Iman replied, "my lord, thy reign is at an end—thy revolted ſubjects will no longer have thee for a maſter.—They demand with ſhouts thy nephew Mahhoud—it is in vain for thee to flatter thyſelf that they will return to their allegiance." At theſe words the ſultan turned pale, but ſoon recovering himſelf, ſaid, "Why was I not informed of this ſooner? Follow me." Immediately he went to the priſon of Mahmoud, attended by all the members of the divan; and, having taken that prince by the hand, "The wheel has turned for you as

for

for me," ſaid he to him, conducting him to the divan chamber; "I reſign to you the throne which Muſtapha my brother reſigned to me." After which he returned to the apartment from whence he had taken Mahmoud, there to end his life. Thus in the ſpace of about eighty years no leſs than four emperors had been ſucceſſively dethroned at Conſtantinople by lawleſs and popular violence. A demonſtration ſo ſtriking of the inſtability and inſecurity of military and deſpotic governments, might ſurely ſuffice to reconcile the proudeſt deſpot to the eſtabliſhment of a regular and permanent ſyſtem of liberty *.

The parliament of England aſſembling in January 1730, the king, in his ſpeech from the throne, declared the peace of Europe to be firmly eſtabliſhed by the treaty of Seville, which was built, as he aſſerted, on the foundation of the quadruple alliance. He affirmed, that Spain had agreed to an ample reſtitution and reparation for all unlawful ſeizures and depredations; that the free and uninterrupted exerciſe of Britiſh commerce was fully ſecured; and that all rights, privileges, and poſſeſſions belonging to him and his allies were confirmed and ſolemnly guaranteed. Violent oppoſition was made to the terms of this treaty when ſubmitted to the inveſtigation of parliament; though it muſt be acknowledged

* It is ſaid that a grand Vizier of Turkey once inquiring of Mr. Montague, the Engliſh ambaſſador at Conſtantinople, whether it were really true, as he had been informed, that the Engliſh nation had ſtruck off the head of one of their kings on a public ſcaffold? the ambaſſador anſwered, that it was: And the Vizier farther inquiring at what diſtance of time this incredible act of wickedneſs and rebellion had been committed, the ambaſſador told the Vizier, with great coolneſs, that, to the beſt of his recollection, it was in the very ſame year in which the grand ſeignor Ibrahim was depoſed, and ſtrangled by the Janiſaries.

that

that ſome of the objections urged by the patriots, when viewed through the long viſta of years which has now intervened, appear rather minute and captious. They affirmed that the article by which the Britiſh merchants were required to make proof of their loſſes at the court of Madrid was injurious to them, and diſhonorable to the nation; and that there was little probability of obtaining that redreſs by means of commiſſaries, which was refuſed to plenipotentiaries. They complained that the right of Great Britain to Gibraltar and Minorca was not acknowledged in this treaty; they diſliked the guarantee of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, to Don Carlos and his ſucceſſors, as a conceſſion which might involve Great Britain in future quarrels about a country with which we had no concern. But the principal objection, and that which conſtituted the chief ground of the high offence taken by the emperor, was founded upon that article of the treaty by which England not only guaranteed the ſucceſſion of theſe Duchies to the Infant, but engaged to convey a body of Spaniſh troops to Italy, in order to ſecure thoſe poſſeſſions without waiting for the Imperial inveſtiture; which was not only an open and flagrant affront offered to the Imperial dignity, but likewiſe a palpable deviation from the letter of the quadruple alliance, by which neutral troops only were to be admittted, till the inveſtitures were granted. And if any obſtacles aroſe in carrying this article of the convention of Seville into execution, the contracting parties, in conjunction with France, under whoſe mediation it was concluded, agreed by force of arms to obtain the accompliſhment of it. So much incenſed was the court of Vienna at the inſult, ſtill more perhaps than the injury offered in the treaty of Seville, that his Imperial majeſty iſſued an edict, prohibiting the ſubjects of Great Britain from trading in his dominions; and made great military

military preparations and demonstrations of a determination to assert his rights by a declaration of war. In the course of this session, and while things remained in this posture, a very warm debate arose in consequence of a bill introduced by the minister to prevent any subject of Great Britain from advancing money by way of loan to foreign princes or states, without license first obtained from his majesty under his privy seal. This bill was ably opposed by Sir John Barnard, one of the representatives of the city of London, a man of strict integrity and extensive commercial knowledge, as "a measure which would render Holland the mart of money to the nations of the Continent. He said that by this general prohibition the English were disabled from assisting their best allies; that the king of Portugal frequently borrowed money of the English merchants residing within his dominions; that the licensing power was liable to dangerous abuse; and that the clause which empowered the attorney general to compel the discovery on oath of such loans, would convert the court of Exchequer into a court of Inquisition." In consequence of these arguments the bill was modified in such a manner as to render it much less exceptionable; and it was declared, "that the object of it was merely to prevent the subjects of the state from assisting the enemies of the state. It was well known that at this very time the emperor was negotiating a loan in the metropolis, and it was manifestly impolitic and absurd to permit individuals to enrich themselves by any mode of traffic detrimental to the general interests of the kingdom." The bill at length passed; and it must be acknowledged, that the principle on which it is founded appears perfectly equitable, and that no inconvenience has, in fact, been found to result from it.

A bill

A bill paſſed by the commons in the courſe of this ſeſſion "for making more effectual the laws in being for diſabling perſons from being choſen members of parliament, who enjoyed any penſion during pleaſure, or for any number of years, or any office holden in truſt for them," was rejected on the ſecond reading by the lords; and on the 15th of May 1730 the king went to the houſe of peers, and cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which very harſh and angry mention was made of "thoſe *incendiaries* who, by ſcandalous libels, labored to alienate the affections of his people, to fill their minds with groundleſs jealouſies and unjuſt complaints, in diſhonor of him and his government, and in defiance of the ſenſe of both houſes of parliament *."

Early in the year 1731, the parliament was again convened, and the ſeſſion opened by a remarkable ſpeech from the throne, indicating a very extraordinary and alarming ſituation of affairs. The king declared, "that in conſequence of the meaſures formerly taken, and the concluſion of the treaty of Seville, the dangerous conſequences ſo juſtly apprehended from the treaty of Vienna were entirely obviated; and that union which had alarmed all Europe not only diſſolved, but the treaty of Hanover ſtrengthened by the additional power of the crown of Spain. His majeſty obſerved, that from this ſituation of affairs juſt hopes were entertained that the

* The *ſcandalous libels* mentioned in the king's ſpeech were ſuppoſed chiefly to allude to the periodical papers entitled "The Craftſman," ſupported by the ableſt political writers of the age, lord Bolingbroke and Mr. Pulteney being themſelves of the number, and in which the meaſures of the adminiſtration were attacked with equal animoſity, wit, and argument. So tranſient, however, is the fame attached to controverſial politics, that this publication, ſo admired and celebrated in its day, is already conſigned to obſcurity and almoſt to oblivion.

conditions

conditions of the treaty of Seville would have been complied with without the neceſſity of coming to extremities; but that this deſirable event had been hitherto delayed: and as the treaty impoſed an obligation upon all the contracting parties to prepare for the execution of it, WE muſt be in readineſs to perform OUR part, in order to procure the ſatisfaction due to our allies. The reſolutions of parliament were expected by foreign powers with impatience, and the great event of peace or war would be very much affected by their firſt deciſions. He ſaid, that *the plan of operations for the execution of the treaty of Seville by* FORCE *was now under conſideration*; that their juſt concern for the true intereſt of their country would, he doubted not, induce them to grant the ſupplies neceſſary to make good his engagements, with that cheerfulneſs and affection which became a Britiſh houſe of commons tender of the honor of the crown, careful and ſolicitous for the glory and proſperity of the kingdom." Never was the truth more apparent than at the preſent moment, of the memorable obſervation of lord Moleſworth on a former occaſion, and which well deſerves the repetition, " that to a man acquainted only with the ſituation of Great Britain, and unappriſed of the ſeveral petty intereſts of the electorate of Hanover, the conduct of the Engliſh court would appear not only fluctuating and capricious, but abſolutely unintelligible and incomprehenſible." For what ſhadow of pretence, connected with the intereſt of Great Britain, could be deviſed to juſtify or palliate an outrage upon the emperor, ſo flagrant as the forcible introduction of foreign troops into Parma and Placentia by a Britiſh fleet, for the purpoſe of transferring thoſe Duchies, which were acknowledged fiefs of the empire, to the king of Spain, previous to the inveſtiture of his imperial majeſty, and in direct contradiction to the laws

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and conſtitutions of the empire; by this means wantonly and voluntarily incurring the eventual riſque of a war with the houſe of Auſtria, the ancient, natural, and faithful ally of Great Britain? The key to this apparently unaccountable and extravagant conduct is, however, perfectly eaſy. The two imperial courts of Vienna and Peterſburg had not yet relinquiſhed their deſigns in favor of the duke of Holſtein; and ſtill flattered that prince with the hope of procuring, either by amicable or hoſtile means, the reſtitution of the Duchy of Sleſwic, guaranteed originally by Hanover, and afterwards by England, to the king of Denmark. So long, therefore, as this project was entertained, ſo long did the elector-kings of England conſider their favorite acquiſitions of Bremen and Verden, which were the price and reward of that guarantee, as in the moſt imminent danger. For the ſole purpoſe of counteracting this project was the treaty of Hanover concluded; for this purpoſe was the inſidious policy of France countenanced and encouraged by a continued refuſal, on the part of England, to aſſent to the edict of the pragmatic ſanction; for this purpoſe was the ambition of Spain gratified by the forcible introduction of troops into the Parmeſan. In vain was it alleged, in oppoſition to the propoſed addreſs of approbation and ſupport, "that our anceſtors were never ſo complaiſant as to declare their approval of meaſures without full and regular information reſpecting them. Why was it that the houſe pledged itſelf for the ſupport of *any meaſures* of the executive government? Doubtleſs, on the ground of their being juſt and reaſonable. But who could pronounce the meaſures in contemplation juſt, when no one could ſay what they were, or what they might ultimately prove to be? Every one, indeed, knew the expence which this nation had incurred in their endea-

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vors to reduce the exorbitant power of France, which, by a fatal negligence, had been ſuffered to ariſe to a height which menaced the general liberties of Europe. But by joining the houſe of Bourbon in this war againſt the houſe of Auſtria, France might be enabled to extend her conqueſts beyond the Rhine, or, perhaps, to annex the low countries to her empire, and become more formidable than ever. It was affirmed, that French alliances had ever been fatal to England; that our kings, by a connection with France, had been led to imbibe the love of arbitrary power, and encouraged to entertain deſigns againſt the liberty of their ſubjects; and that Gallic faith was to be depended upon no farther than their intereſt was concerned in adhering to it; that their enmity to England was inveterate; and that we ſhould, in the end, pay dear for any temporary favors which they may ſeem to confer." And an amendment to the addreſs was offered, "that his majeſty ſhould be deſired not to concur in a war againſt the emperor either in Flanders or upon the Rhine."

The Walpoles, and the courtiers in general who took part in the debate, maintained, in oppoſition to theſe objections, "that his majeſty's prudence was ſo great, and had been ſo ſtrikingly manifeſted in his whole conduct ſince his happy acceſſion, that no ſuſpicion could reaſonably be entertained of the propriety of his preſent or future meaſures; that the amendment now propoſed was an encroachment on his majeſty's prerogative. They acknowledged that France ought not to extend the bounds of her empire, and his majeſty would, *no doubt*, take proper precautions to prevent the inconveniences apprehended from the weight of the confederacy againſt the houſe of Auſtria; that the deſign of the potent alliance formed againſt the emperor was to convince him of the impoſſibility of a ſucceſsful reſiſtance; it would be groſsly impolitic,

impolitic, therefore, if the allies were reſtrained from attacking him in Flanders, or on the Rhine, where he was moſt vulnerable. By enfeebling the operations of the war, ſuch reſtraint would virtually and proportionally add to the ſtrength of the emperor, and thereby make a pacification hopeleſs and impracticable." Another amendment was then propoſed, far more judicious and comprehenſive: "that the houſe would ſupport his majeſty's engagements ſo far as they related to the intereſt of Great Britain;" and it was urged by Mr. Wyndham, the mover of it, "that the act of ſettlement, by virtue of which his majeſty held the crown of theſe realms, expreſsly provided that this nation ſhall not be obliged to enter into a war for the defence of any dominions not belonging to the crown of Great Britain; and that the houſe *could not* therefore, agreeably to this act, go farther than the amendment imported." To this the miniſter and the courtiers replied, "that the adoption of this amendment would *ſeem to inſinuate* that his majeſty *had* entered into engagements that did not relate to the intereſts of Great Britain; which would be the higheſt diſreſpect and ingratitude, when thoſe that had the honor to ſerve his majeſty could teſtify that the intereſt of Great Britain was the ſole object of his majeſty's ſolicitude. They ſaid that every member of the houſe was, they hoped, convinced that his majeſty never would enter into any engagement that was not abſolutely neceſſary for the happineſs and ſafety of his people, and therefore it was wholly unneceſſary to narrow the aſſurances of ſupport in the addreſs by any ſuch limitation." The houſe ſeeming, however, to pauſe upon the validity of theſe arguments, more fit indeed for a Turkiſh divan than a Britiſh ſenate, Mr. Heathcote aroſe, and declared, "that the offering of advice to his majeſty could never be regarded by him as an encroachment on the prerogative, ſince it

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was the proper buſineſs of parliament, which was the king's great council, to adviſe the crown in all matters of importance—it was what many parliaments had done, and what they were obliged in duty to do; that to ſupport any hoſtile operations againſt the emperor in Flanders or upon the Rhine, was abſolutely deſtructive to the intereſt of England, tending evidently to the total ſubverſion of the balance of power; and the houſe had, therefore, good reaſon to believe that no miniſter would DARE to adviſe his majeſty to concur in ſuch a meaſure. Upon that account only he conſidered it as ſuperfluous to adviſe his majeſty againſt it; that unanimity in their reſolves was certainly deſirable, and would undoubtedly add great weight to his majeſty's endeavors to effect a general accommodation of differences; and for his part he looked upon all addreſſes, containing aſſurances of ſupport, as in their nature general, and no farther obligatory than the meaſures to be ſupported ſhall be found conducive to the public intereſt; that he, therefore, willingly concurred in the addreſs as originally moved, taking it at preſent for granted, that the engagements alluded to were ſuch as the intereſts of Great Britain required: but leaving himſelf at full liberty to object to any ſpecific meaſures which ſhould be moved by the miniſters of the crown in purſuance of this addreſs, if they appeared to him, in any reſpect, inconſiſtent with the public welfare. He was ſure that his majeſty could mean nothing but what was for the advantage of the nation; and if the engagements in queſtion proved otherwiſe, he ſhould conſider them as the engagements of the miniſter, not of the king." Sir Joſeph Jekyl and ſeveral other reſpectable and independent members declaring, that they regarded addreſſes preciſely in the ſame light and agreeably to the explanation now given, the oppoſition acquieſced, and the queſtion paſſed in the affirmative without a diviſion. But

it could not escape the penetration of the minister, how repugnant to the feelings of the house was the idea now suggested of carrying on an offensive war against the house of Austria, in concert with the two branches of the house of Bourbon. Ever since the conclusion of the treaty of Hanover, a very large body of auxiliaries had been kept, at an immense expence, in constant pay, from the incessant apprehension of a war. But when the estimate for the charge of maintaining 12,000 Hessians came before the house, it was objected against as entirely superfluous. It was said, that if fears and apprehensions would justify the waste of money thus lavished in subsidies, we should never be free from these burdens; that it was time enough to hire troops when we were actually involved in war; and there was no doubt, from the disposition of the European princes, that men might be always had for money. These objections, however, were over-ruled, and the troops continued in pay, under the idea that to dismiss them at the present crisis, though their actual services might not be called for, would tend to encourage the emperor in his contumacy.

Notwithstanding the recent convention of Seville, complaints were renewed from all parts of the depredations and cruelties committed by the Spaniards in the West Indies: and the house of commons, satisfied of the truth of these allegations, presented an address to the king, desiring "that his majesty would be graciously pleased to continue his endeavor to prevent such depredations for the future; to procure full satisfaction for the damages already sustained; and to secure to the British subjects the full and uninterrupted exercise of their trade and navigation, to and from the British colonies in America."

A very judicious bill was at this period introduced into parliament, and passed into a law, for preventing delays

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of juſtice occaſioned by the uſe of the Latin tongue in proceedings at law, and enacting that all the proceſſes and pleadings ſhould be entered in the Engliſh language. There are not wanting, however, at all times many inveterate enemies of INNOVATION, "who cheriſh old prejudices becauſe they are prejudices," and who have in all ages been found equally eager and obſtinate in oppoſing the moſt ſalutary reforms; and it was urged by this claſs of men, on the preſent occaſion, that this bill would render uſeleſs the antient records, which were written in that language—and, far from expediting, would introduce confuſion and delay of juſtice, by altering the ESTABLISHED form and method of judicial proceedings. Theſe reaſonings, however, did not prevail; and this law remains an incontrovertible proof, that INNOVATION may *poſſibly* be the medium of improvement.

In the debate on the penſion bill, now for the ſecond time paſſed by the commons and rejected by the lords, Dr. Sherlock biſhop of Bangor gave high offence, by declaring "that an independent houſe of commons, or an independent houſe of lords, is as inconſiſtent with our conſtitution as an independent, that is abſolute, king; and that a lover of his country will no more deſire to ſee the one than the other." This propoſition, nevertheleſs, underſtood in a ſober and qualified ſenſe, cannot be juſtly controverted. For a parliament abſolutely independent of the crown would in a ſhort time infallibly reduce the crown to a ſtate of abſolute and abject dependence upon itſelf. And, unqueſtionably, it is not by the perpetual conflicts of authority, but by the reciprocal dependence of the different branches of government, that the balance of the conſtitution, and the harmony of its movements, are moſt advantageouſly and effectually preſerved. And a total annihilation of that influence, the

prodigious

prodigious and dangerous preponderance of which this bill was wiſely calculated to check, would be attended with a train of new and alarming political evils. Lord Carteret, who had now joined the oppoſition, defended the principle and practical operation of this bill with great eloquence and energy. In conſequence of the biſhop of Bangor's invidious oppoſition to it, a motion was made for leave to bring a bill into the houſe of commons, to prevent the tranſlation of biſhops; which, the utmoſt influence of the court being exerted againſt it, paſſed, on a diviſion, in the negative.

On the 7th of May, 1731 the ſeſſion was terminated by a ſpeech, in which his majeſty informed the two houſes "that a treaty of peace had been ſigned at Vienna*, and the ratifications exchanged between him and the emperor. As this treaty, he ſaid, principally regarded the execution of the treaty of Seville, it was communicated to the courts of France and Spain, as parties to that treaty; and it was now under the conſideration of the ſtates-general, who had been invited to accede to it He added, that the new engagements entered into by him on this occaſion were agreeable to the neceſſary concern which this nation muſt always have for the ſecurity and preſervation of the balance of power in Europe: and he expreſſed his aſſurance, that all malicious inſinuations to the prejudice of his meaſures muſt vaniſh, when it ſo evidently appeared that his firſt and principal care had been for the intereſt and honor of this kingdom." By this treaty his imperial majeſty agreed that Spain ſhould take poſſeſſion of the duchies of Parma and Placentia for the infant Don Carlos, in the mode preſcribed by the treaty of Seville; and that the Oſtend company, which had given ſuch umbrage to the maritime powers, ſhould

* March 16, 1731.

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be totally diſſolved, on condition that England and the other contracting powers of the treaty of Seville ſhould become guarantees of the pragmatic ſanction. And the duke of Parma dying at this juncture, an Engliſh fleet under Sir Charles Wager was fitted out, which having joined the Spaniſh fleet at Barcelona, convoyed the Spaniſh troops deſtined for Italy to Leghorn, Don Carlos himſelf taking the route of France; when, the imperial forces which had marched into Parma being withdrawn, the infant took peaceable poſſeſſion of his new territories.

Thus at length was terminated the violent and acrimonious conteſt, which for more than ſeven years had divided the houſe of Auſtria from Great Britain, its ancient and faithful ally. And nothing can be more clear and evident, from an impartial review and ſummary of facts, than that the quarrel originated ſolely in the unfortunate connection formed by this nation, at the acceſſion of the preſent royal family, with the electorate of Hanover, whoſe intereſts ſtood almoſt conſtantly and diametrically oppoſed to thoſe of England. Jealous of the aſpiring views of the houſe of Lunenburg in the empire, the emperor could never be brought cordially to concur in the meaſures concerted for the ſecurity of the new acquiſitions of Bremen and Verden, and ſtill leſs in the inſidious deſigns of the court of Herenhauſen upon the duchy of Mecklenburg; although, to merit the favor of the court of Vienna, the king of England ſcrupled not to engage in a war with Spain, with whom Great Britain had then no imaginable pretence of diſpute, and actually effected the transfer of the iſland of Sicily from the houſe of Savoy to the houſe of Auſtria. Finding the emperor ſtill cold and intractable, it was thought neceſſary to enter into ſtricter connections with France, who readily gave her countenance and ſupport to the petty ſchemes of electoral aggrandizement, ſo long as the

houſe of Auſtria was deprived, by this artful policy, of the ſtrength ſhe derived from the powerful alliance of Great Britain. By the treaty ſigned at Madrid, therefore, A. D. 1721, a SECRET DEFENSIVE ALLIANCE was, by a SEPARATE ARTICLE, concluded between England, France, and Spain, to which the Dutch were left at liberty to accede, and all the late acquiſitions of Hanover ſecured by an EXPLICIT GUARANTEE: and, in return, Spain was artfully and inſidiouſly flattered with the hope of the reſtitution of Gibraltar. After the concluſion of this treaty, the court of London was very little ſolicitous to obtain for the emperor advantageous or ſatisfactory terms of pacification with Spain; and the congreſs of Cambray, which was convened under the pretended mediation of England and France, after a long and tedious negociation, broke up *re infectâ*. But the court of Spain in proceſs of time, finding her expectation of recovering Gibraltar wholly deluſive, and enraged at the affront offered to the infanta by France, became anxious to eſtabliſh a real and permanent amity with the emperor —not, however, without inviting the king of England to become the ſole arbitrator of their differences. Though nothing, certainly, could be more favorable to the intereſts of Great Britain, than this happy occaſion of detaching Spain for ever from her connection with France; it was rejected, from the apprehenſion of giving umbrage to that power, upon whom Hanover at this period relied for the ſupport of her new acquiſitions and farther ſchemes of aggrandizement. A treaty of peace and alliance, nevertheleſs, between Spain and the emperor being quickly ſigned at Vienna, without the intervention of any foreign power, the memorable treaty of Hanover was concluded between England and France, to which all the powers of Europe under their influence were urged to accede. In order to give a plauſible color to this

treaty,

treaty, ſo contrary to the intereſts of Great Britain, much was ſaid on the neceſſity of reducing the exorbitant power of the houſe of Auſtria, which England had lately been at ſuch an immenſe expence of blood and treaſure to eſtabliſh. And a violent and abſurd clamor was raiſed againſt the imperial Eaſt-India company of Oſtend, as creating a rivalſhip fatal to the commercial intereſts of Great Britain. But the real object of the treaty of Hanover, on the part of the king of England, was evidently no other than to counterbalance the deſigns of the two imperial courts, now in ſtrict alliance with Spain, for the reſtoration of Sleſwic, Bremen, and Verden, the evacuation of Mecklenburg, and the final annihilation of the ambitious projects of Hanover. The views by which France was actuated were, however, of a far more elevated and comprehenſive nature. For the great object of the policy of the court of Vienna, at this period, being to ſecure to the eldeſt daughter of the emperor the undivided ſucceſſion of the houſe of Auſtria, France could diſcover no other method ſo certain to defeat that deſign, and to lay the foundation of the ruin of that houſe, and its own conſequent unrivalled pre-eminence, by the diſmemberment of its vaſt poſſeſſions, whenever the diſſolution of the emperor, now in the decline of life, ſhould take place, than to detach Great Britain entirely from its ancient and natural ally. The treaties of Vienna and Hanover, A. D. 1725, in which almoſt all the powers of Europe were parties, had nearly given riſe to a general war; which, however, was with much difficulty averted by the preliminaries ſigned at Aix-la-Chapelle A. D. 1727. At the enſuing conferences for a final pacification at Soiſſons, France having found means to effect a reconciliation with Spain, the court of Vienna, which ſtill eſpouſed the intereſts of the dukes of Holſtein and Mecklenburg, found itſelf greatly overbalanced and

almoſt deſerted. The imperial miniſter's demand of the guarantee of the pragmatic ſanction was treated with neglect and contempt; and the Engliſh miniſters, *after having conferred with thoſe of France*, anſwered, that the pragmatic ſanction was not the point in queſtion; that, not being the object of the preſent diſputes, it ought not to be a ſubject of the preſent negotiations, and that the propoſition was not *traitable*. The plenipotentiaries of Holland, however, who were not under the ſame artificial and extrinſic bias, refuſed to join in this anſwer—declaring, on the contrary, that they thought it a point which might hereafter ſo highly affect the tranquillity of Europe, that it deſerved conſideration at leaſt, and an inquiry what the emperor would do in exchange for it. Thus the congreſs of Soiſſons broke up, like the former congreſs of Cambray, to the mutual ſatisfaction of France and Hanover, leaving the ſecurity of the Auſtrian ſucceſſion to the deciſion of chance and fortune. It was now the policy of France to accommodate the differences ſubſiſting between the courts of Madrid and London, and to unite them both in a firm oppoſition to the emperor. For this purpoſe the treaty of Seville was concluded, under the mediation of France, and mortal offence given to the emperor, by the ſtipulated introduction of Spaniſh troops into the duchies of Parma and Placentia, previous to the granting the imperial inveſtiture. Upon ſuch high ground did the court of London, or rather of Herenhauſen, now conceive itſelf to ſtand, that it preſumed to inſult the emperor by an offer, made (1730), in conjunction with her high allies, France and Spain, to guarantee the ſucceſſion of the Auſtrian dominions—*in* ITALY *only*—to the arch-ducheſs Maria Thereſa, eldeſt daughter of the emperor, on the condition that the affairs of SLESWIC and MECKLENBURG were regulated to their joint ſatisfaction. This propoſition, however, was rejected

jected with disdain; and his imperial majesty appearing determined to risque a war with the house of Bourbon, —a war in which England had with the grossest and most culpable inattention to her interests and even to her safety, and the extreme hazard of entirely subverting the balance of power in Europe, involved herself as a principal,—the ministers of the crown, who had ventured to the edge of the precipice, as the crisis approached, recoiled at the view of the gulph into which they were about to plunge. Apparently alarmed at the rashness and absurdity of their own projects, they suddenly resolved to set on foot a negotiation at Vienna; as the basis of which, an offer was made of the guarantee of the pragmatic sanction, including the whole Austrian succession, by Great Britain. This the emperor readily and gladly embraced. In return, the investitures of Bremen and Verden were conceded; Hanover was to receive a stipulated sum in lieu of all its claims upon Mecklenburg; and, "*to preserve the peace of* LOWER SAXONY, *and to put an end to the* CAUSE *of troubles in the* NORTH," the emperor and Russia guaranteed SLESWIC to the king of Denmark, upon condition that one million of rix-dollars were paid to the duke of Holstein as an *equivalent*—500,000 down, and 100,000 per ann. till the whole was completed *. And however re-

* It is a curious circumstance, that Denmark declared itself under no obligation to make good this equivalent—having been long in actual possession of Sleswic under the guarantee of Hanover. And though his Danish majesty afterwards consented to the payment of this sum, it will be found, conformably to the accounts delivered in to parliament, Feb. 10 and 12, 1735, that the sums paid, or to be paid, on different pretences to Denmark within a certain specified time, amount to the complete sum of *one million of rix-dollars*: so that there exists a strong presumption that the duchy of Sleswic, thus bought and sold by contract of two foreign potentates, was at last paid for out of the pockets of the simple and unsuspecting people of Great Britain.

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luctant the duke of Holſtein might be to part with Sleſwic upon ſuch terms, he was compelled to accept of this pretended equivalent, or ſeek elſewhere for protectors. The treaty of Vienna being concluded without the participation of France, in direct contravention of an article of the treaty of Hanover, all real amity between the two courts of London and Verſailles was now at an end; and a cold exterior civility ſucceeded to that confidence which had ſubſiſted without interruption for the ſpace of fifteen years. The treaty of Hanover was conſidered on both ſides as virtually renounced by the late treaty of Vienna, to which the ſtates-general ſoon acceded, and which ſeemed to eſtabliſh, by the guarantee of the maritime powers, the pragmatic ſanction, ſo much the object of Gallic jealouſy and averſion, on a firm and ſolid baſis. The politics of Europe now reverted to their antient and regular order. But it is obvious that England and Holland had undertaken this guarantee, at a period far leſs favorable than that which had occurred at the former treaty of Vienna, ſix years before; and that through a prepoſterous predilection and attachment to the views and intereſts of Hanover, a moſt propitious opportunity of diſſolving for ever the political connection of Spain and France was irretrieveably loſt; and that by the re-union of thoſe powers, France was encouraged to perſiſt in proſecuting thoſe ſchemes of ambition which ſhe had long cheriſhed for the future humiliation of the houſe of Auſtria, and which, in the ſequel, England thought it neceſſary to employ ſuch mighty efforts to oppoſe and defeat. "Truth," ſays a noble cotemporary writer, "ſhould be made known; and it ſhould be known to thoſe whom it moſt imports to know it—thoſe are the beſt friends to the king and kingdom, who, by ſhewing how incompatible the intereſts of the electorate are with thoſe of Great Britain, may ſuggeſt the prudent and neceſſary

ceſſary meaſure of ſeparating the dominions themſelves, and ſupplying that great defect in the act of ſettlement, which every body now wiſhes had been done, and wonders was not *

On the regular return of the ſeſſion, Jan. 1732, the king made an elaborate ſpeech to both houſes, containing a very high eulogium upon his own conduct. He congratulated the parliament "on the reſtoration of the general tranquillity; and he affirmed, that the part taken in the late tranſactions by the crown of Great Britain had redounded much to *the honor and intereſt* of the nation. By the treaty of Seville, he ſaid, that union of the imperial and Catholic crowns, which had given ſuch univerſal alarm, had been diſſolved; and the execution of that treaty, ſuppoſed to be attended with inſurmountable difficulties, was at length happily accompliſhed. Parma and Placentia were in the actual poſſeſſion of Don Carlos, and the reverſion of Tuſcany ſecured by an expreſs convention with the great duke. Parliament had ſeen, he ſaid, the happy effects of their zeal and reſolution—and now reaped the fruits of the confidence which they had repoſed in him; and it muſt be a great ſatisfaction to them to reflect that the expence incurred had been ſo amply recompenſed." It is obſervable, that in the whole ſeries of royal ſpeeches and meſſages in this and

* Vide a ſeries of tracts ſtyled, "Caſe of the Hanover Forces," with a firſt and ſecond "vindication" of the ſame, aſcribed to the earl of Cheſterfield. The firſt of theſe tracts was anſwered by Mr. Horace Walpole, afterwards lord Walpole, brother to the miniſter, in a publication ſtyled, "The Intereſts of Great Britain ſteadily purſued." Lord Cheſterfield, in his vindication, ſhrewdly remarks, "that the three years in which the writer of the pamphlet declared himſelf ſo violently againſt Hanover-projects, ought at leaſt to be excepted out of the Britiſh ſcheme of politics, which he undertakes to demonſtrate hath been ſo *ſteadily purſued*."

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the preceding reign, not a ſyllable is mentioned of Bremen, Sleſwic, or Mecklenburg, the ſecret ſprings of every reſolution taken by the Engliſh court reſpecting the affairs of the continent for almoſt twenty years paſt. And with a firm reliance on the complaiſance of the parliament, and the ignorance of the people, a bold —for a harſher epithet would be indecorous—a bold attempt was now made to eſtabliſh the idea that the quarrel between Great Britain and the emperor reſpected ſolely the inveſtiture of the duchies of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia:—although, had this indeed been the fact, ſcarcely would it have amounted to an extenuation of the folly. For to whom theſe duchies ſhould belong, was an object wholly beneath the attention of Great Britain: and admitting the neceſſity of preſerving the equipoiſe of power, they could be conſidered as little more than duſt in the balance. If king WILLIAM has incurred juſt cenſure for involving this nation too deeply in continental politics—if the blood and treaſure of Great Britain were in his reign laviſhed with a too unſparing hand—at leaſt it muſt be acknowledged, that the ends he had in view were in the higheſt degree noble, juſt, and diſintereſted. The *grand alliance* was not projected by that renowned monarch, in order to procure the ceſſion of a diſtrict, to be added to his principality of Orange; but for the glorious purpoſe of aſſerting the liberty and independency of Chriſtendom, in oppoſition to the aſpiring aims of an haughty tyrant; and of fixing an inſurmountable barrier to the farther progreſs of his triumphs. Abſorbed in the contemplation of this great object, his ideas roſe infinitely above all thoſe miſerable artifices of petty aggrandizement, which had, for ſo many years previous to this period, perplexed the counſels, and interrupted the repoſe of nations. When an addreſs

addreſs was moved by lord Hervey *, in the uſual ſtyle of courtly adulation and ſubmiſſion, the indignation of the patriots ſeemed uncommonly excited; and the incoherency and abſurdity of the whole political ſyſtem of the court were ably and vigorouſly expoſed. Sir William Lawſon, who firſt roſe, obſerved, "that the treaties, reſpecting which ſo much had been ſaid, were not yet before the houſe; therefore he was not prepared to join in the approval of them. It appeared, however, ſufficiently plain, that, notwithſtanding the great things we had done for Spain, very little ſatisfaction had as yet been received for the injuries done to us. He knew of nothing, a vague order of his Catholic majeſty to the governors of his ports in the Weſt Indies againſt illegal depredations excepted, upon which any conſtruction they thought proper might be put; but this ſurely could not be conſidered as a ſufficient reparation of paſt injuries." Mr. Shippen "confeſſed himſelf ſo unfaſhionable, that he neither pretended to judge without information, or to applaud without reaſon. The ſervile and flattering addreſſes now in vogue, he ſaid, were unknown in former times;—in oppoſing them, he ſhewed his regard for the

* This nobleman long occupied a place in the foremoſt rank of courtiers, and was a frequent ſpeaker in parliament, though with little hiſtoric notice. His endowments appear to have been very ſuperficial, and his manners effeminately frivolous; though, by a duel with Mr. Pulteney, he ſufficiently eſtabliſhed his character for perſonal courage. Lord Hervey's quarrel with POPE is well known. The portrait drawn by that vindictive ſatiriſt of this nobleman under the name of Sporus, is replete with malignity and diſtortion; though, had it been perfectly juſt, the poet ſtands deſervedly condemned by his own previous acknowledgment:

> Satire or ſenſe, alas! can Sporus feel?
> Who breaks a butterfly upon *the* wheel?

honor

honor and dignity of that houſe; and for his reputation as a courtier, he felt little concern. He moved, therefore, to leave out the complimentary paragraphs, and to reſtrain the addreſs to a general expreſſion of thanks to his majeſty, and of ſatisfaction at the eſtabliſhment of general tranquillity. But the moſt intereſting and eloquent ſpeech on this occaſion was made by Mr. Pulteney, who declared, that if we were now right, he was certain that the time had long ago elapſed, when we might have been *as right*, with infinitely leſs expence and trouble. But at the period to which he alluded, the guarantee of the pragmatic ſanction was repreſented as inconſiſtent with the intereſt and happineſs of the nation, by the very perſons who now plume themſelves, and demand the applauſe of the houſe for aſſenting to it. For his part, he ſaid, he neither conſidered the pragmatic ſanction in ſo formidable, or in ſo favorable a light, as the preſent miniſters had, at different times, done. Admitting it to be agreeable to the general intereſts of England, that the Auſtrian ſucceſſion ſhould be tranſmitted whole and undivided, he greatly doubted the policy of our obliging ourſelves, by an explicit and poſitive guarantee, to maintain this ſucceſſion at a future and indeterminate period, when England might, for reaſons impoſſible to foreſee, find it very incompatible with her intereſt to engage in a foreign war upon any account: and no alternative would be then left us, but to violate our faith, or to riſque our ſafety. To violate the national faith, indeed, he obſerved, was no new thing with the preſent miniſters; for the treaty of Vienna itſelf was concluded in violation of the treaty of Hanover, to the conditions of which, though Pruſſia had withdrawn herſelf, France and Holland had ſtrictly adhered. He could not, therefore, allow, that in the late tranſactions either the *intereſt* or the *honor* of the nation had been conſulted.

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With regard to the forcible introduction of Don Carlos into Italy, that prince, whose name had, for several years past, been converted to such commodious uses, and who, according to a ludicrous observation in the course of this debate, was either a *giant* or an *infant* as it suited the purpose of the court—Mr. Pulteney declared that he thought it very likely to prove the origin of fresh troubles. But if, upon the whole, our affairs abroad were now wisely adjusted, and our domestic grievances were to be, at the same time, completely redressed, the minister at the helm of government might be compared to a pilot who, though there was a clear, safe, and straight channel into harbor, took it into his head to navigate the ship through rocks, sands, and shallows, and after much danger and much damage, at last, by chance, gains the port, and triumphs in his good conduct." In reply to Mr. Pulteney, Mr. Horace Walpole, upon whom the minister willingly devolved the task of defending his system of foreign politics, undertook to demonstrate "the wisdom and rectitude of those measures of administration, so contemptuously derided and so injuriously arraigned. He wished, he said, to be informed to what period of time the observations of the last speaker were intended to refer. He knew that the guarantee of the pragmatic sanction had been proposed to us some years ago; but then it was in a style so dogmatic, that it was inconsistent with the honor of his majesty and of the nation to pay the slightest attention to it. Besides, there was just reason to fear that Don Carlos was the person fixed upon by his imperial majesty as his successor; and it was manifestly against the interests of Great Britain to contribute to the establishment of a Prince in the entire possession of the Austrian succession, who held in his own right dominions so considerable in Italy, and who was so nearly related to the crowns both of Spain and France.

France. This guarantee was again offered when the treaty of Seville was in agitation; but it was again rejected, becauſe it was well known to be intended only to *diſturb the negotiation*. But as ſoon as the treaty of Seville was concluded, and the emperor became reaſonable in his propoſals, we embraced the opportunity, and joined without reſerve in the guarantee. As to any inconvenience which might ariſe from a ſuppoſed eventual inability to maintain our engagements, he would take upon him to aſſert, that were the imperial houſe in danger of ſubverſion, we *muſt* engage in their reſcue, let our circumſtances be at the time what they will; for our own ruin was cloſely and inevitably connected with theirs. This guarantee he affirmed it would have been highly deſirable to have entered into ſooner, on account of the fatal conſequences which might have enſued in caſe of the demiſe of the emperor. But it was impoſſible to agree to it, till his imperial majeſty had given ſatisfaction to Spain reſpecting the Italian Duchies, and to England and Holland in regard to the Oſtend company, which his majeſty, by the wiſdom, vigor, and *ſteadineſs* of his meaſures, had at laſt procured. He begged leave to repeat the expreſſion, the *ſteadineſs* of his majeſty's meaſures; for, he ſaid, though the means were various, the objects of thoſe meaſures were uniform—the preſervation of the balance of power, and the aſſertion of our commercial rights. We had engaged by the quadruple alliance to ſee the infant Don Carlos ſettled in the ſucceſſion of the Italian Duchies; and Spain *could not be eaſy* till this was effectuated, nor could we or our allies, the Dutch, *be eaſy*, till we ſaw the Oſtend company abſolutely demoliſhed. As ſoon as theſe two grand points were conceded by the imperial court, we began to think ſeriouſly of eſtabliſhing the future tranquillity of Europe, and the balance of power, on a ſolid foundation;

tion; for which purpoſe we had at length agreed to the formal guarantee of the pragmatic ſanction. How then could it be affirmed that the honor and intereſt of the nation had not been conſulted in our foreign negotiations, or that our engagements had not been fulfilled? France had no reaſon to be diſſatisfied, having declared that her ſole object was the preſervation of the general tranquillity, agreeably to the terms of the quadruple alliance, which was accompliſhed by the treaty of Vienna: and the fact was, that the court of Verſailles had declared itſelf ſatisfied *. As to the commercial differences between England and Spain, they were referred to the deciſion of commiſſaries, who, there was every reaſon to believe, would ſettle all points in diſpute in an amicable manner." This ſpeech was no leſs favorably received by the majority of the houſe, than the harangue formerly made by this miniſter in the vindication of the treaty of Hanover; and the addreſs, as originally moved, was preſented to his Majeſty, who declared in reply, " that he had no doubt of the continuance of the affection and confidence of the houſe, and that they ſhould ever find his views tending to the honor, intereſt, and ſecurity, of his crown and people."

The nation being at length allowed, and aſſerted on the higheſt authority, to be in a ſtate of actual and perfect ſecurity, a grand effort was thought adviſable by the patriots in oppoſition, or the *Country-party*, as they were

* Upon the ſame principle, doubtleſs, on which SHYLOCK, after " recording a gift of all his wealth," declares, in anſwer to the queſtion, " Art thou contented, Jew?"—" I am content;" though a cataſtrophe not very pleaſing certainly in itſelf, and little to be expected from the tenor of the exiſting BOND.

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now generally ſtyled, to effect a reduction of the ſtanding army. This rooted and habitual grievance the courtiers endeavored to diſguiſe and ſoften, by beſtowing upon it the appellation of a *parliamentary army*, as voted and maintained by parliamentary authority. They pleaded, that this force was neceſſary to ſecure the interior tranquillity of the kingdom, and to overawe malcontents, though too inconſiderable to excite the jealouſy of the people even under an ambitious monarch, and much leſs under a prince who could not be accuſed, or even ſuſpected, of entertaining the remoteſt wiſh of infringing upon the liberties of his ſubjects. In favor of the reduction it was argued, "that a ſtanding military force in time of peace had, previous to the æra of the Revolution, always been accounted not only ſuperfluous, but unconſtitutional and dangerous; that the internal tranquillity of the country might be ſecured, as heretofore it had been, by the civil power aided by the militia, which, under proper regulation, was as capable of diſcipline, and as active in exertion, as a ſtanding army; that the number of malcontents was altogether contemptible; but that the moſt effectual means of increaſing it was the obſtinate perſeverance in meaſures odious and arbitrary; that though they had all imaginable confidence in his majeſty's regard for the liberty of his ſubjects, ſhould a ſtanding army be ingrafted into the conſtitution, another prince might ariſe of more dangerous talents and of deeper deſigns, and employ it for the worſt purpoſes of ambition: that other nations had been enſlaved by ſtanding armies; and though the officers were at preſent men of honor and probity, theſe might be eaſily diſcarded, and the army new-modelled, in order to effect the ſubverſion of the conſtitution. The expence of this great military force was alſo inſiſted upon

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on as extremely burdenſome and oppreſſive to the nation; and it was aſſerted, that the money raiſed for the ſubſiſtence of 18 or 20,000 men in England would maintain 60,000 French or Germans. Previous to the Revolution it was well known that the people of England did not raiſe above two millions for the whole of the public charge; but now the current expence far exceeded that ſum, and the civil liſt, the intereſt due to the public creditors, and the ſinking fund, added together, compoſed a burden of ſix millions yearly; and though at ſo recent a period as the acceſſion of the late king, the army did not exceed 6000 men, it was now augmented, on various pretences, to more than three times that number. And farther pretences would never be wanting, were parliament willing to liſten to them for farther augmentations." Theſe arguments, however, proved wholly fruitleſs and unavailing *, and in proportion to the frequency of their repetition, the impreſſion ſeems to have been impaired and weakened; for it is unhappily, though unqueſtionably, certain, that, for almoſt a century paſt, the *ſtanding army* has been *a progreſſive army*, and that every effort for its reduction has terminated in its increaſe and enlargement. Such was the offence given by Mr. Pulteney to the court by the zealous part he took in this and other political queſtions at this period, that the king, calling for the council-book, with his own hand ſtruck out his name from the liſt of privy counſellors, which, however, on-

* The numbers on the diviſion were 241 againſt 171 voices. Lord Hervey urging the multiplicity of ſeditious writings, as an argument againſt any reduction of the military force; Mr. Plumer replied, "that if *ſcribblers* gave the government uneaſineſs, they ought to employ *ſcribblers*, and not ſoldiers, to defend them from the danger."

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ly ſerved to extend his fame, and eſtabliſh his popularity.

Notwithſtanding the indiſcriminate ſupport given by Sir Robert Walpole, after the example of his predeceſſors, to the long-eſtabliſhed royal ſyſtem of continental politics, and without which he well knew the impoſſibility of maintaining poſſeſſion, even for a day, of his high and precarious office, it ought not to be ſuppoſed that this miniſter was abſolutely indifferent to the intereſt and welfare of the kingdom over whoſe councils he preſided. This it would be flagrant injuſtice to affirm. His ſituation was, in many reſpects, critical and hazardous; and if juſt allowance be made for the difficulties and embarraſſments which he perpetually experienced from the prevalence of Hanoverian prejudices on the one ſide, and Jacobite prejudices on the other, it will not perhaps be too much to aſſert, that a man, upon the whole, better adapted to the ſtation which he occupied, or better qualified to diſcharge the various and complicated duties of it, could no-where be found. To change the miniſter would have availed nothing without a radical change of ſyſtem; and ſo long as the nation at large ſhall continue to approve, or acquieſce in, this corrupt and defective ſyſtem, where is the miniſter to be found, who ſhall with ſincerity and earneſtneſs labor to accompliſh any comprehenſive plan of political reform? Or, indeed, what right have we to expect from any man ſuch an heroic and, at the ſame time, uſeleſs effort of virtue? The celebrated ſtateſman whoſe character and conduct we have now been contemplating—and whoſe actions have been brought to the teſt of that fiery ordeal of relentleſs truth and juſtice which human frailty is ſo incompetent to abide, and over whoſe burning ploughſhares no man ever yet with impunity paſſed—was poſ-

ſeſſed,

ſeſſed, nevertheleſs, of talents admirably calculated for public life. An underſtanding clear, maſculine, and vigorous, was in him combined with a temper mild, equable, and diſpaſſionate. And by the moſt perfect accuracy and regularity of method, the toils of government were rendered apparently eaſy and pleaſant. He was fully ſenſible of the folly of that warlike ſpirit which had predominated in the Britiſh councils ſince the æra of the Revolution. The favorite object of his adminiſtration was to preſerve and maintain the general tranquillity; and the treaty of Vienna, recently concluded at a moment ſo critical, ſtrongly indicated his extreme ſolicitude for the continuance of peace. He conceived the proſperity of the nation to be moſt effectually advanced by the encouragement of manufactures and commerce, the true principles of which he perfectly comprehended and ſteadily purſued. His return to office had been diſtinguiſhed by a moſt beneficial alteration of the commercial ſyſtem of Great Britain, in the abrogation of a multiplicity of duties payable on the importation of raw materials, and the exportation of wrought goods. And it has been affirmed, that he found the Engliſh book of rates almoſt the worſt, and left it the very beſt, in Europe. At this period he had formed a project, to which he appears to have been incited by the cleareſt conviction of its utility, for effecting a radical alteration in the national ſyſtem of taxation. The principal branches of the revenue might at this time be divided into port-duties or cuſtoms—duties of exciſe—and taxes levied on immoveable property, ſuch as the duties on land, houſes, hearths, and windows. This latter deſcription of duties the miniſter conſidered as of a nature highly oppreſſive, partial, and inequitable. And the various taxes on conſumable commodities, to which every citizen contributes in an exact

proportion to his conſumption; and which, being included in the price of the commodity, are eaſily and inſenſibly paid; conſtituted, in his opinion, incomparably the moſt eligible mode of raiſing the ſupplies neceſſary for the public ſervice. He alſo well knew the groſs and ſhameleſs frauds daily practiſed in the collection of the cuſtoms; and which, from the very nature of thoſe frauds, and the extreme facility of committing them, he had no hope to remedy. He thought, therefore, that to convert the greater part of the cuſtoms into duties of exciſe, would be equally advantageous to Government, and to the fair trader; and that the laws of exciſe might be ſo ameliorated, that, notwithſtanding the odium generally attached to them as oppreſſive and arbitrary, no juſt or real ground of complaint ſhould remain. With a view, therefore, to an eſſential change in the firſt ſpecies of taxation, and to the eventual annihilation of the laſt, he brought into the houſe, in the month of February 1732, a bill for the revival of the ſalt duties, which had been repealed ſome years back, as a ſubſtitute for one ſhilling in the pound of the land-tax—and if this propoſal met the approbation of the houſe, he ſignified his intention—the land-tax being at this time two ſhillings only in the pound—altogether to aboliſh that tax in the courſe of the enſuing ſeſſion; in which he declared he ſhould rejoice, as the annihilation of a moſt grievous and intolerable burden. "The duty on ſalt, he ſaid, affected, it was true, all claſſes of citizens, the poor as well as the rich; but the burden of this tax being ſo equally and generally diffuſed, the ſum contributed by the lower claſſes of the people would be found, on computation, ſo trifling, as ſcarcely to deſerve the mention. This tax, while it exiſted, was never the ſubject of complaint; and when it was repealed, no one ſeemed to think himſelf benefited. He knew,

knew, he ſaid, the reproaches he had to expect on this occaſion; but he had been long accuſtomed to be affronted and inſulted, both within the walls of that place, and without: and while he knew his intentions to be upright, and his only aim to ſerve his country to the beſt of his knowledge, and the utmoſt of his power, he ſhould continue to diſregard thoſe reflections which he was conſcious he did not deſerve." After very vehement and obſtinate debates, in which the miniſter was repeatedly charged with deep and malignant deſigns againſt the liberties of his country, and the welfare and happineſs of his fellow-citizens, which no one perhaps ſeriouſly ſuſpected him to harbor, the bill paſſed by a majority of 207 voices againſt 135. And it muſt be acknowledged, that the oppoſition againſt the meaſures of Sir Robert Walpole's adminiſtration was ſo invariable, and at times ſo intemperate, that the bounds of patriotiſm and faction ſeem to have been divided by a very ſlender partition. In the courſe of the preſent ſeſſion, the penſion bill was a third time paſſed by the commons, and rejected by the lords. And on the 1ſt of June 1732, the king terminated the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he informed the parliament of the formal acceſſion of the ſtates general to the treaty of Vienna; and declared his intention of viſiting his electoral dominions, and of leaving the queen, as before, ſole regent during his abſence. On his arrival in Germany, he had the ſatisfaction at length to receive the inveſtitures of the Duchies of Bremen and Verden, ſo long ſolicited, and ſo long delayed by the policy, pride, or reſentment of the emperor.

During this ſummer, Victor Amadeus, the abdicated monarch of Sardinia, was diſcovered to be deeply engaged, at the inſtigation of his wife, the Marchioneſs

of St. Sebaſtian, in intrigues for the reſumption of the crown—upon which, his perſon was ſeized by order of his ſon, the reigning king, and conveyed to Rivoli; and the Marchioneſs committed cloſe priſoner to the caſtle of Seva. And the world had a new proof, little wanted indeed, how weak are the ties of gratitude and affection, when placed in competition with the ſuggeſtions of ambition and intereſt.

At this period, a royal charter was granted for the ſettlement of a new colony to the ſouthward of the Carolinas, to which the name of Georgia was given: and general Oglethrope, a man diſtinguiſhed for the activity and ardor of his benevolence, was appointed Governor *, and embarked at Greenwich with a number of families, who founded a town called Savannah on the river of that name. This enterpriſe excited the jealouſy and apprehenſion of the Spaniards; and as it was difficult, or rather impoſſible, to aſcertain the preciſe limits of the Engliſh colony of Georgia and the Spaniſh ſettlement of Florida, a foundation of future diſpute and contention between the two nations was unavoidably laid. Previous to the final deciſion of Government reſpecting this meaſure, ſeven chiefs of the Cherokee and other ſouthern Indian tribes were conveyed to England; and being introduced to the king, ſurrendered, by a formal deed, in the name of their countrymen, all right of property and dominion in the lands now about to be occupied by the new coloniſts. And in amazement at the riches and magnificence of the Britiſh court, they are ſaid to have laid their crowns and enſigns of dignity

* "One—driven by ſtrong benevolence of ſoul—
Shall fly like OGLETHORPE, from pole to pole." POPE.

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at the king's feet, requesting to be received in the number of his subjects.

Parliament being convened as usual, early in the year 1733, a motion was framed and approved for an address to the king, to know what satisfaction had been made by Spain for the depredations committed on the British merchants—to which the king replied, "that the meetings of the commissaries of the two crowns had been delayed by unforeseen accidents, and that a perfect account of their proceedings could not as yet be laid before the house of commons." On the motion relative to the army estimates in the committee of supply, which differed not materially from those of the last year, a violent debate arose; and the arguments formerly urged were again repeated and anew enforced. Mr. Horace Walpole, in reply, hesitated not to assert, "that the number of troops then proposed was absolutely necessary to support his majesty's government, and would be necessary so long as the nation enjoyed the happiness of having the present illustrious family on the throne." Mr. Shippen remarked upon this assertion, "that the question seemed at length to have taken a new turn—for, in former debates, the continuance of the army *for one year only* had been contended for; but now the mask was thrown off, and the house was given to understand that it was intended to be PERPETUAL. This he would not believe could come from his majesty. His majesty KNEW how much the nation was loaded with debts and taxes—and how *inconsistent it was with our constitution to keep up a standing army in time of peace.*" Mr. Shippen, being called vehemently to order for these last words, declared himself "peculiarly unfortunate; for that, in a former parliament, he had incurred the severe displeasure and censure of that house, for asserting that

that the late monarch *was unacquainted* with the conſtitution; and he now gave high offence, by declaring that his preſent majeſty *was not unacquainted* with the conſtitution." On a diviſion, the motion was carried by 239 votes againſt 171.

In deliberating upon the ſupplies to be granted for the enſuing year, Sir Robert Walpole moved that the ſum of 500,000l ſhould be iſſued out of the ſinking fund for the current ſervices. This was the firſt open and direct attack upon the ſinking fund *; and it produced a moſt animated and indignant remonſtrance from the patriotic party, who warned the miniſter, though in vain, that he was drawing down the curſes of poſterity upon his head—and expatiated upon the iniquity of pillaging, in a time of profound peace, this ſacred depoſit, and demonſtrated the folly of ſacrificing the ineſtimable advantages ariſing from the undiſturbed and progreſſive operation of this fund, to a little temporary eaſe; and conjured him not to demoliſh with his own hand the faireſt monument of his fame. Sir William Wyndham acknowledged, "that he had never been without apprehenſion that violence might be offered to this fund, by an enterpriſing miniſter, in caſe of exigency and in a time of war: but to ſee attempts made upon it in a ſeaſon of perfect tranquillity, was what he never expected. Is the public expenditure, exclaimed this patriotic ſpeaker, never to be leſſened? Are the people of England always to groan under the ſame heavy and grievous taxes? Surely, if there is

* Between the years 1727 and 1732, various new loans were made, the intereſts of which were charged upon different ſurpluſſes, appertaining, conformably to the original plan of redemption, to the ſinking fund.

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any intention of diminiſhing the preſent enormous debt of the nation, now is the time for doing it. What can be ſaid in vindication of thoſe who are thus loading poſterity? Can they imagine that there will ever be leſs occaſion for public expence—or can they imagine that our deſcendants will poſſeſs greater ability for diſcharging theſe incumbrances than ourſelves? Surely not—unleſs far other and wiſer meaſures of government ſhould be adopted, than any which have yet originated from the preſent miniſters." No impreſſion, however, could be made upon the predetermined purpoſe of the miniſter; and the meaſure received without difficulty the ſanction of the houſe of commons: and though in the houſe of lords it was again attacked, with the united powers of argument, wit, and eloquence, by the lords Bathurſt, Cheſterfield, and Carteret, it finally received the royal aſſent.

The compliant diſpoſition of parliament now encouraged the miniſter to bring forward, in purſuance of the grand plan of revenue reform before mentioned, his famous bill for ſubjecting the duties on wine and tobacco to the laws of exciſe. But probably to the ſurpriſe, certainly to the chagrin, of the miniſter, on moving his primary reſolution, "that the duties on tobacco do from the 24th of June 1733 ceaſe and determine," no leſs than 205 members divided againſt it—the majority, in a houſe of 471 members, being only 61.

No man, perhaps, at this time, ſtood higher in public or parliamentary eſtimation than Sir Paul Methuen. His long experience, his extenſive political and commercial knowledge, the high offices he had ſucceſſively occupied, the reſpectability of his private with the moderation and equanimity of his public character, and the dignified

dignified candor with which he always oppoſed, when he deemed it neceſſary to oppoſe, the meaſures of adminiſtration, though long removed from power by the ſuperior aſcendancy of WALPOLE, all combined to give the decided part which he took on this occaſion, as an opponent of the bill, the greateſt weight; and his opinion was ſuppoſed materially to have influenced very many of the moſt reſpectable members who voted in this formidable minority.

A prodigious clamor, inſtigated, without doubt, in a great degree by thoſe perſons whoſe fraudulent practices this plan was intended to counteract, was artfully and induſtriouſly raiſed againſt the bill, which was indeed deemed dangerouſly inimical to the conſtitution, by many very intelligent and impartial perſons, to whoſe judgment much deference is due; though it has in our own times been carried ſubſtantially into effect without cauſing any public alarm, or even exciting any very uncommon ſhare of attention—juſtifying in its operation the ideas and expectations of the miniſters with whom it originated. On this occaſion, however, the oppoſition againſt the bill might with propriety be ſtyled national; and Sir Robert Walpole perſiſting to urge this favorite project with a very improper, and with him a very unuſual degree of heat and paſſion—applying the contumelious expreſſion of "ſturdy beggars" to the merchants who attended in the lobby of the houſe of commons with petitions againſt the bill, the public diſcontent was heightened into rage. The avenues to Weſtminſter Hall were occupied by immenſe crowds of people; and the perſons of thoſe members who voted in favor of the bill were groſsly inſulted, and even their lives endangered. At length Sir Robert Walpole thought proper to move that the ſecond reading of the bill might be poſtponed to a diſtant day. The defeat of

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the ſcheme was celebrated with general rejoicings; and the miniſter was burned in effigy and loaded with execrations, though his conduct appears no otherwiſe cenſurable in this buſineſs, than as it exhibits ſome ſymptoms of pride and obſtinacy. It is related, nevertheleſs, to his praiſe, that, on the evening previous to the report, a meeting was convened by the miniſter, of the members who had ſupported this obnoxious meaſure. Their unanimous opinion was, to perſevere: but Sir Robert Walpole declared, "that in the preſent inflamed temper of the people, the act could not be carried into execution without an armed force, and he would not be the miniſter to enforce any ſyſtem of taxation at the expence of blood; for, if ſupplies were to be raiſed by the ſword, there is an end of Britiſh liberty. He was therefore reſolved to adjourn the report for ſix months; or, ſhould his opinion be over-ruled, to make an immediate reſignation of his office." The unfortunate penſion bill, paſſed for the fourth time, in four ſucceſſive years, by the houſe of commons, was for the fourth time thrown out by the houſe of peers; although, as a meaſure which ſolely regarded the purity and integrity of the national repreſentation, theſe repeated rejections appeared particularly harſh and invidious on the part of the lords. On the 11th of June 1733, the king cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which ſevere notice was taken of "the wicked endeavors that had been lately uſed to inflame the minds of the people, by the moſt unjuſt repreſentations."

EUROPE was now deſtined to be involved in freſh troubles. Theſe were occaſioned by the death of Auguſtus, king of Poland and elector of Saxony, January 1733. The candidates for the vacant crown were, Auguſtus ſon to the late king, and Staniſlaus, whom Charles XII. in the zenith of his proſperity had elevated to the throne, and which on the decline of that monarch's fortune he had

had been compelled to relinquish. Louis XV. king of France, having married the daughter of Staniſlaus, ſupported the pretenſions of this prince with all his power; and the Poliſh primate, and a majority of the diet, being gained over by the intrigues of the French ambaſſador, proceeded to the election, and Staniſlaus was unanimouſly choſen king at Warſaw, and proclaimed with loud acclamations. The imperial courts of Vienna and Peterſburg, however, between whom it is remarkable that a ſtrict and almoſt uninterrupted harmony had ſubſiſted, from the period that Ruſſia aſſumed her proper rank as a European power, eſpouſed with warmth the intereſts of the houſe of Saxony: and proteſting by their reſpective miniſters againſt the election of Staniſlaus as null and void, an army of Auſtrians was aſſembled on the frontiers of Sileſia; and 50,000 Ruſſians under general Laſci actually entered Poland, on the ſide of Lithuania. Being quickly joined by a body of Saxons and Poles of the electoral party, the elector of Saxony was proclaimed king of Poland by the biſhop of Cracow. King Staniſlaus, finding himſelf wholly unable to reſiſt ſo great a force, abandoned Warſaw to his rival, and retired to Dantzic, where he was purſued and cloſely beſieged by the Ruſſians and Saxons. This prince, however, found means to eſcape, previous to the ſurrender of the city, which was followed by a general ſubmiſſion to the authority of Auguſtus, and a general amneſty was in return granted to the partiſans of Staniſlaus. Though the court of Verſailles failed in their grand object in Poland, in order to be fully avenged upon the emperor, who had been the principal obſtacle to its accompliſhment, and whoſe dominions lay much more open to attack than Ruſſia, the duke of Berwick received orders to paſs the Rhine at the head of a numerous army in October, and Fort Kehl was in a ſhort time compelled to capitulate. The winter months having paſſed

paſſed over, he renewed his operations with great vigor. After the reduction of Traerbach, the duke inveſted the important town of Philipſburg; and viſiting the trenches was killed on the 12th June * by a cannon-ball, leaving behind him an high reputation for valor and military ſkill. The French general had been oppoſed, during the whole of this campaign, by the celebrated prince Eugene, now far advanced into the vale of years, in a ſtate of languiſhment and infirmity, and retaining little reſemblance of the hero of Blenheim and Belgrade. Notwithſtanding the loſs ſuſtained by the French in the death of their commander, Philipſburg was obliged, after a brave defence, to ſurrender, though upon the moſt honorable terms. During theſe tranſactions the French king had concluded a treaty with Spain and Sardinia, in conformity to which, thoſe powers declared war againſt the emperor. And the marechal duc de Villars, the antient rival of Marlborough and Eugene, was prevailed upon to take the command of the French army in Italy †; which, being joined by the forces of Savoy, expelled the imperialiſts from the Milaneſe. He ſurvived, however, but a ſhort time the fatigues of the campaign, in which he fully ſuſtained the glory of his name and nation, dying at Turin early in the enſuing ſpring, at the age of

* 1734.

† M. Voltaire tells us, that the Marechal de Villars, on being ſolicited to reſume his military honors, and to place himſelf at the head of the army deſtined for Italy, repeated with energy and enthuſiaſm the following lines, from Racine's tragedy of Bajazet:

Quoi! tu crois, cher Oſmin, que ma gloire paſſée
Flatte encore leur valeur & vit dans leur penſée!
Tu crois qu'ils me ſuivroient encore avec plaiſir,
Et qu'ils reconnoîtroient la voix de leur Viſir?

eighty.

eighty. After the death of this great man, the command devolved upon the marechal de Coigné; between whom and the imperial generals, the count de Merci and marechal Konigseg, various fierce and bloody, but indecisive encounters took place, into the particular narration of which it is not necessary to enter. Whilst the Austrians were thus driven from the Milanese, and with difficulty maintained their ground in the Mantuan, the Neapolitan nobility, irritated and oppressed under the government of the count de Visconti, the imperial Viceroy, joined in an invitation to Don Carlos, the infant duke of Parma, to attempt an invasion of that kingdom. He accordingly entered the Neapolitan territories at the head of a considerable army, and was received in the metropolis with loud acclamations, as the national deliverer. The count de Visconti, having retreated into Apulia, was followed thither by the Spanish general, the count de Montemar; who, attacking the Austrians at Bitonto, May 25, 1734, gained a most complete victory. Don Carlos, being now proclaimed and acknowledged king of Naples, immediately determined upon the reduction of Sicily: and the count de Montemar, landing in that island in the month of August, proceeded with great rapidity in his conquests, the natives displaying every where a disposition rather to assist than to oppose the progress of his arms; and on the arrival of Don Carlos in person, the imperialists were compelled finally to evacuate the island. The emperor, finding himself unable to cope with his adversaries, applied for succor in this emergency to his powerful ally, the Czarina, who immediately ordered a body of thirty thousand men to march to his assistance. But, before they could arrive at the scene of action, a general treaty of peace was concluded in the spring of 1735, nearly on the terms proposed by the maritime powers; and agreeably to which, Naples

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and Sicily were yielded to the infant Don Carlos; and Parma and Placentia, the patrimonial poſſeſſions of the infant, were ceded to the houſe of Auſtria, to whom alſo the other conqueſts of the allies in Italy and Germany were reſtored. The reverſion of the grand duchy of Tuſcany, now formally relinquiſhed by Spain, was conferred as a fief of the empire, at the demiſe of the grand duke, laſt of the illuſtrious houſe of Medicis, upon the duke of Lorraine, who was deſtined for the future huſband of the eldeſt arch-ducheſs Maria Thereſa, a princeſs diſtinguiſhed for her perſonal and mental accompliſhments, and ſole heireſs, under the *pragmatic ſanction*, of the vaſt dominions of the houſe of Auſtria. The elector of Saxony was acknowledged as king of Poland, and the duchy of Lorraine was ceded to Staniſlaus, who was permitted to retain the title of king; and after the death of the titular monarch, to be for ever united to the crown of France, which thus made, under the unambitious and pacific adminiſtration of cardinal Fleury, an acquiſition of far greater importance and value than any which had reſulted from the moſt ſplendid ſucceſſes of Richelieu, Mazarine, or Louvois. The king of Sardinia was gratified by the ceſſion of ſome ſmall diſtricts of the Milaneſe; which is ſaid to have been compared, by one of the anceſtors of this monarch, to an artichoke, which, from its magnitude not being digeſtible at once, muſt be devoured leaf by leaf.

On reverting to the regular progreſſion of domeſtic events, we find the ſeſſion of 1734 diſtinguiſhed by a very vigorous effort to repeal the act for ſeptennial parliaments—as a flagrant encroachment upon the rights of the people—as having a dangerous tendency to increaſe the influence of the crown, and as being actually productive of very pernicious effects. The miniſter having defied the oppoſition to adduce a ſingle inſtance in which

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the intereſts of the nation had been injured by the operation of this bill, or by any undue exerciſe of the royal prerogative as connected with it, Sir William Wyndham obſerved, "that it was reaſonable and juſt to argue againſt the continuance of a bill of this nature; not merely from what had happened, but from what might happen. Let us ſuppoſe then (ſaid he) a man of mean fortune and obſcure origin, abandoned to all notions of virtue and honor, and purſuing no object but his own aggrandizement, raiſed by the caprice of fortune to the ſtation of firſt miniſter: let us ſuppoſe him palpably deficient in the knowledge of the intereſts of his country; and employing, in all tranſactions with foreign powers, men ſtill more ignorant than himſelf: let us ſuppoſe the honor of the nation tarniſhed, her political conſequence loſt, her commerce inſulted, her merchants plundered, her ſeamen periſhing in the depths of dungeons—and all theſe circumſtances palliated or overlooked, leſt his adminiſtration ſhould be endangered: ſuppoſe him poſſeſſed of immenſe wealth, the ſpoils of an impoveriſhed nation; and ſuppoſe this wealth employed to purchaſe ſeats in the national ſenate for his confidential friends and favorites.—In ſuch a parliament, ſuppoſe all attempts to inquire into his conduct conſtantly over-ruled by a corrupt majority, who are rewarded for their treachery to the public by a profuſe diſtribution of penſions, poſts, and places under the miniſter.—Let us ſuppoſe this miniſter inſolently domineering over all men of ſenſe, figure, and fortune, in the nation; and having no virtuous principles of his own, ridiculing it in others, and endeavoring to deſtroy or contaminate it in all. With ſuch a miniſter, and ſuch a parliament, let us ſuppoſe a prince upon the throne—uninformed, and unacquainted either with the intereſts or inclinations of his people—weak, capricious, and actuated at once by the paſſions of ambition

ambition and avarice. Should ſuch a caſe ever occur, could any greater curſe happen to a nation, than ſuch a prince, adviſed by ſuch a miniſter, and that miniſter ſupported by ſuch a parliament. The exiſtence of ſuch a prince and ſuch a miniſter, no human laws may indeed be adequate to prevent; but the exiſtence of ſuch a parliament may, and ought to be prevented; and the repeal of the law in queſtion I conceive to be a moſt obvious, neceſſary and indiſpenſable means for the accompliſhment of that purpoſe." Notwithſtanding the admiration excited by this ſudden burſt of eloquence, and the ability with which the motion of repeal was ſupported by various other ſpeakers, it was negatived on the diviſion, though not by the accuſtomed miniſterial majority, the numbers being 247 againſt 184.

The duke of Bolton and lord Cobham being about this time arbitrarily diveſted of their military commiſſions, on account of their parliamentary oppoſition to the meaſures of the court, a very dangerous—the more dangerous indeed, becauſe a very plauſible—motion was made by lord Morpeth, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Carliſle, for leave to bring in a bill for ſecuring the conſtitution, by preventing the removal of officers not above the rank of colonels, otherwiſe than by judgment of a court martial, or by an addreſs of either houſe of parliament. The court, alarmed in the higheſt degree by this motion, exerted the whole force of miniſterial ability and eloquence in the houſe of commons, in order to defeat it. It was ſtrongly urged, "that the great danger to be guarded againſt in all armies, is the raiſing them to a ſtate of independency. The moſt important of all reſtraints on the military in this country, is the prerogative veſted in the crown, of diſplacing officers on ſuſpicion, or even at pleaſure. But ſhould this power once be transferred to the army, a time may come, nor may the period be far diſtant, when the whole of our conſtitution ſhall be at

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its mercy. At preſent the army itſelf depends upon the king and parliament for its very duration and exiſtence. But give the officers a permanent intereſt in their commiſſions, by the adoption of a meaſure which would convert them as it were into freeholds, and the king and parliament would ſoon find themſelves dependent upon the army. By this bill a door would be opened for the uncontrolled and uncontrollable commiſſion of every ſpecies of military licenſe and oppreſſion. And ſhould a reduction of the army at any future period be determined upon, is it to be imagined that theſe military chieftains, with ſwords in their hands, would contentedly lay them down, and retire to their reſpective homes, at the requiſition of the civil power? no: they would exclaim, where are our accuſers? we are by law amenable to our own courts martial only, and to them alone will we ſubmit. The miniſter remarked, that the two noblemen lately removed were ſucceeded by others—the duke of Argyle and lord Pembroke—in no reſpect inferior. And ſhould the motion paſs into a law, the government of England would have an irreſiſtible tendency to a *ſtratocracy*, or a military conſtitution. Suppoſing, ſaid this ſagacious ſtateſman, the charges ſo often urged by the zealous partiſans of this motion againſt a late celebrated general, to be well-founded—that he cheriſhed views of ambition, contrary to the ſpirit of the conſtitution—that he aſpired to perpetuate his authority, and to riſe above all control, by obtaining a commiſſion conſtituting him general for life, how would the exiſtence of a law, ſuch as is now recommended, have facilitated the ſucceſs of thoſe daring projects? and how would ſuch a motion have been received by the gentlemen who now urge it as equitable and wiſe, had it been brought forward under the auſpices of the duke of Marlborough? and what ſhould induce us to believe that meaſure to be now beneficial, which

which would then have been univerſally reprobated as pernicious and unconſtitutional?" The queſtion, being put, was carried in the negative, without a diviſion. A far more reaſonable and moderate motion was then made by Mr. Sandys, "for preſenting an humble addreſs to his majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to inform the houſe by whoſe advice it was that his majeſty was pleaſed to diſcharge his grace Charles duke of Bolton, and the right honorable lord viſcount Cobham, from the regiments lately under their command, and what offences were alleged againſt them as the occaſion of their diſmiſſion." All the arguments being now on the other ſide, the miniſter contented himſelf with calling for the queſtion; and on a diviſion the motion was negatived, by a majority of 252 againſt 193.

The very ſame day on which lord Morpeth made his famous motion in the houſe of commons, the duke of Marlborough preſented a bill of ſimilar import to the houſe of lords. The debate which enſued was rendered memorable by the eloquent ſpeeches of the lords Cheſterfield and Scarborough—the former in ſupport, the latter in oppoſition to the bill. Theſe two noblemen, who ranked amongſt the moſt diſtinguiſhed ornaments of the Engliſh court, had long maintained a mutual and inviolable friendſhip. To the accompliſhments of the courtier, lord Scarborough joined the ardor of patriotiſm and the enthuſiaſm of virtue. He might with propriety be regarded as the FALKLAND of the age—and the great qualities he poſſeſſed, were unfortunately clouded by the ſame dark tinge of melancholy. Such was his high ſenſe of honor, that thinking it neceſſary to take a decided part in oppoſition to the bill in queſtion, he previouſly reſigned his place of maſter of the horſe, leſt,

by an injurious imputation, he ſhould be ſuppoſed actuated by any intereſted motive. Not ſatisfied with the negative put upon the motion for the ſecond reading of the bill, he urged the rejection of it by the houſe, which was agreed to without a diviſion *.

In the ſame ſeſſion a very important bill, which had at various times been propoſed and rejected, was revived by Mr. Sandys, entitled, "A bill for ſecuring the freedom of parliament, by limiting the number of officers, civil and military, in the houſe of commons." In oppoſition to this bill, the miniſter contended, "that the conſtitution was already ſufficiently ſecured, by the proviſion which orders a re-election when a member accepts of a place; that to diſable any gentleman or citizen from ſitting in parliament merely becauſe he has the honor to ſerve the crown, was really taking from the people

* "When I confeſs there is who feels for fame,
And melts to goodneſs, need I SCARBOROUGH name?"
POPE.

The character of this nobleman has been delineated by lord Cheſterfield, with the glowing pencil of ſenſibility and affection. According to this *finiſhed portrait*—confirmed indeed by the general voice of his cotemporaries—Lord Scarborough poſſeſſed in the higheſt degree, the air, manners, and addreſs of a man of quality—politeneſs with eaſe, and dignity without pride. He had the advantage of a fine perſon; and when cheerful, the moſt engaging countenance imaginable. His knowledge, claſſical and hiſtorical, was very extenſive; and it was accompanied with a juſt and delicate taſte. In his common expenſes he was liberal; but in his charities and bounties his generoſity was unlimited. In parliament, though not an ambitious or florid ſpeaker, truth and virtue, which never want and ſeldom wear ornaments, ſeemed only to borrow his voice. He was a true conſtitutional, and yet practicable patriot: a ſincere lover and a zealous aſſertor of the natural, the civil, and the religious rights of his country. Though bred in camps and courts, his moral character was ſo unſullied, that what a cele-

people their inherent right of chooſing ſuch repreſentatives as they deemed beſt qualified to exerciſe the functions of their delegation; and that the ſtate would be divided by it into factions, thoſe acting under the executive power not coaleſcing with, but conſtituting a formidable phalanx againſt thoſe who compoſed the legiſlative; and that it argued an hoſtile diſtruſt of the crown not compatible with the genius of the conſtitution." The motion was, however, in itſelf plauſible and popular, and it received additional weight from the near approach of a diſſolution of parliament, ſo that on the queſtion of commitment it was negatived by a majority of 39 voices only in a houſe of 426 members.

Although a very large addition to the naval force of the nation had, in the early part of the ſeſſion, been unanimouſly voted, on the 28th of March, a prorogation being now almoſt daily expected, a meſſage was delivered by Sir Robert Walpole from the crown, acknowledging the zeal and affection ſhewn by the parliament, and deſiring that his majeſty might be enabled, during the receſs or interval of parliaments, to make good ſuch engagements with foreign powers as honor, juſtice, and prudence may call upon him to fulfil or contract, and ſuch augmentation of his forces by ſea and land as might be neceſſary for the honor and defence of his kingdoms, and as the exigency of affairs may re-

a celebrated hiſtorian formerly ſaid of SCIPIO, might, almoſt without any allowance for the imperfections of humanity, be applied to him: "Nil non laudandum aut dixit, aut fecit, aut ſenſit."—"This ſmall tribute of praiſe, ſays the noble writer, I owe to the memory of the beſt man I ever knew, and the deareſt friend I ever had. If he had any enemies—for I proteſt I never knew one—they could only be ſuch as were weary of always hearing of Ariſtides the Juſt."

quire, the war on the Continent ſtill unhappily continuing." On this occaſion all the patriotic ardor was again awakened, and the impolicy, the folly, and the danger of entruſting ſuch dictatorial powers in the hands of the monarch, were expoſed with all the energy of truth and eloquence. Mr. Shippen in particular diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a ſpeech worthy of the Engliſh CATO. He ſaid, "that when the addreſs was moved in reply to his majeſty's ſpeech at the commencement of the ſeſſion, he had expreſſed his fears and ſuſpicions, from certain expreſſions in both, that a vote of credit was in contemplation; but he had then been aſſured that there was not the leaſt ground even to imagine ſo improbable a thing, although we were now told that, from his majeſty's manner of expreſſing himſelf upon that occaſion, every gentleman in the houſe muſt have expected a demand of this nature—a demand for no leſs than a total ſurrender of all the rights of parliament; for we are now called upon to give the king a power of raiſing what money he pleaſes, and alſo what military force he pleaſes, which are the rights on which all other rights depend; and all this without any neceſſity, or even any plauſible reaſon alleged to us. Is invaſion by a foreign enemy to be apprehended? Is any dangerous domeſtic conſpiracy diſcovered? No: The right honorable gentleman himſelf ſays that he believes the nation to be in ſafety, but does not deſire that its ſafety ſhould depend on his belief. GOD forbid that it ſhould; and happy would it be for us that it did not depend upon his adminiſtration. But this unlimited delegation of power is, it ſeems, deſigned to guard againſt new counſels, againſt any *ſudden alteration* of meaſures. Surely, Sir, this is not meant to be ſeriouſly urged: for can this plea ever be wanting? Are we not in as great danger of ſudden

ſudden and alarming changes in a time of profound peace, as when the powers of Europe are engaged in a bloody war, and courting with eagerneſs our aſſiſtance, or at leaſt our neutrality? If we now, therefore, agree to grant ſuch powers, we may expect in future the demand regularly repeated, and never refuſed. Never can ſuch requiſitions on the part of the crown be made with leſs color of neceſſity, never can compliance on our part be yielded more unconſtitutionally. When not only an expiring ſeſſion, but an expiring parliament, grants ſuch powers, how eaſily may they be extended, before the next parliament is ſuffered to meet, beyond all poſſibility of control! The precedents that have been adduced to juſtify the preſent demand are wholly inapplicable. In the year 1702 a vote of credit paſſed the houſe in conſequence of a meſſage from the late queen; but this meſſage contained no ſuch demand or requiſition as the preſent. It ſimply ſtated the danger to which our allies, the ſtates-general, were at that period expoſed from France; and this danger was not only aſſerted, but proved by papers laid before the houſe: we were then ourſelves actually engaged in a war, and it was not merely pretended that we might be eventually endangered by a change of counſels. Even in this ſituation the queen was far from aſking ſuch powers as are now demanded. She did not in fact aſk any thing, ſaying only in general terms, that ſhe doubted not but the houſe would adopt ſuch meaſures as would moſt conduce to the honor of her crown, the ſafety of her kingdoms, and the ſupport of her allies. On the other hand, the houſe were far from granting ſuch powers as are now aſked. The vote was reſtrained to a power of increaſing the forces deſtined to act with thoſe of the ſtates-general, and limited by the condition that England ſhould not be charged with the pay of ſuch additional

tional troops, but from the day that all commerce and correſpondence between the ſubjects of the ſtates, and thoſe of France and Spain, ſhould be totally prohibited. As to the meſſage in the year 1715, it was ſent to the houſe at a time of actual rebellion and expected invaſion; and it was not granted at the termination of a ſeſſion, and much leſs at the expiration of a parliament. The meſſage in 1719 was ſimilarly circumſtanced: the nation was in danger of being invaded, and would have been invaded, had it not been for the diſaſters which the Spaniſh fleet met with after leaving their ports. The laſt precedent of the year 1725, it muſt be allowed, approaches neareſt to the preſent caſe. We then did, as we are now deſired to do—grant away millions in the dark without any cauſe or reaſon aſſigned; but then this was a precedent of the right honorable gentleman's own making, which may be thought perhaps ſomewhat to diminiſh its authority. The right honorable gentleman has, however, improved upon his own precedent; for the nation was not, at the period alluded to, in a ſtate of abſolute tranquillity, nor did the meſſage aſk for a diſcretion ſo unlimited as the preſent; but merely for an indefinite power to add to the *naval* force, and to negotiate treaties. But if his majeſty is inveſted with the powers now demanded, nothing will remain for the crown to aſk but a parliamentary reſolve, impowering his majeſty to make, repeal, ſuſpend, or alter, ſuch laws, and in ſuch manner, as he ſhall judge neceſſary for the public ſafety. And where indeed is the difference between granting this power at once, and putting the crown in a capacity to aſſume it whenever it may chooſe ſo to do? Such complaiſance as this muſt ſurely render us moſt deſpicable in his majeſty's eyes: He might juſtly ſay of us as the Roman emperor of the Roman

man ſenate, " *O homines ſervire paratos!*" But we are told that an account is to be rendered to the next parliament of whatever may be done in purſuance of theſe powers. Sir, I have been ſo often deceived by miniſterial promiſes, that I am aſhamed ever to have placed any degree of faith in them. How often, when I and others have called for ſuch accounts, have we been told that matters were not ripe for laying them before parliament, or that it would be dangerous to the ſtate to reveal the ſecrets of government? and the higheſt ſatisfaction we could ever obtain was to be told that the expenſes incurred were neceſſarily incurred for foreign and ſecret ſervices. Whence that neceſſity aroſe was ever kept from the knowledge of parliament: we had the word of the miniſter to reſt our faith upon; and the ſame implicit reſignation will be required, doubtleſs, from every ſucceeding parliament. When at the termination of the ſeſſion we return to our ſeveral counties, and are requeſted to aſſign our reaſons for this very extraordinary vote—a vote by which ſuch vaſt additional burdens may be impoſed on the nation—how ſatisfactory muſt it be to our conſtituents to be informed that, though we are at preſent in amity or actual alliance with all the powers of Europe, military preparations, by ſea and land, muſt be made in order to guard againſt a *variation* of foreign counſels! Sir, in my opinion, the reſolution now moved is neither neceſſary, nor ſafe, nor founded upon precedent. Precedents, indeed, there may be, which reſemble it in a certain degree; but were they ever ſo numerous, and in all reſpects analogous, it would be no argument with me for agreeing to what is propoſed. Whatever may have been the duration or extent of the practice, it is now high time to put a ſtop to it, and to eſtabliſh a PRECEDENT of REFUSAL; otherwiſe parliaments will become wholly uſeleſs, or ſerve,

ſerve, by a ſanction ſo pernicious, to make miniſters the more daring, and the oppreſſions of the people the more grievous."

In anſwer to this eloquent and patriotic ſpeaker, Mr. Horace Walpole ventured to attempt a vindication of the meaſures thus indignantly arraigned. He ſaid, that after all the pains taken to point out a diſſimilarity between the caſe now under diſcuſſion and the precedents adduced in ſupport of it, he could diſcern no material difference. It had been evidently the practice of parliament, in times of danger, to grant extraordinary powers to the crown, and in this particular way. For his part he acknowledged he thought the precedent of 1702 a bad one; becauſe the parliament diſcovered ſo much diffidence and diſtruſt; and all the ill effects of their ſlow and lukewarm proceedings ought to induce us to ſtrengthen the hands of his majeſty at the preſent juncture. It was ſurpriſing, he ſaid, to him to hear it aſſerted by gentlemen, that nothing had been laid before the houſe to ſhew the neceſſity of granting the powers now aſked for. Did not his majeſty, in his ſpeech at the opening of the ſeſſion, inform us of the war then begun in Europe? Does he not by the preſent meſſage acquaint us that the war ſtill continues? And is not every gentleman convinced, by what he knows of the ſituation of Europe, that the balance of power in Europe entirely depends on the event of that war? Suppoſing either ſide to prevail too far, the balance of power muſt be overturned; and this nation will be under an obligation to interpoſe, in order to prevent ſo fatal an effect. Beſides, does not every gentleman know that the French have lately fitted out a very powerful naval armament, which, with more probability, threatens Great Britain than any other place in the world, unleſs

unleſs we excepted the city of Dantzic? He believed, indeed, he ſaid, that it was deſigned againſt Dantzic; but if that affair ſhould blow over, can we imagine ourſelves in ſecurity, while ſo large a ſquadron lies within a few hours' ſail of the Engliſh coaſt? Our allies, the Dutch, he ſaid, were in a very critical ſtate: their barrier in Flanders was in a very weak and defenceleſs condition, and if we ſhould ſit ſtill and do nothing, they might be tempted to throw themſelves entirely into the arms of France. They had not indeed, he acknowledged, done any thing as yet themſelves by way of augmentation of their forces, but then they had poſtponed that reduction of 10,000 men, which, previous to the war, they had meditated; and they were now deſirous to go hand in hand with us. Gentlemen, he ſaid, might, if they pleaſed, call this a vote of credit; but his majeſty having expreſsly promiſed an account of the expenditure, it was in his opinion only a vote of confidence, which, by ſhewing the entire reliance we place on the wiſdom of his majeſty's meaſures, will give his influence with foreign powers that weight which is ſo neceſſary to the preſervation of the balance of power in Europe, without which this nation can never be in any ſafety or ſecurity." The debate was unuſually prolonged by a ſucceſſion of very able ſpeeches: and Sir John Barnard particularly attracted the attention of the houſe, by declaring "that the aſſertions hazarded in royal ſpeeches or meſſages were not to be implicitly depended upon; for that the crown might aſſert, and in fact had aſſerted in conſequence of haſty or treacherous information, what afterwards proved not to be true. Parliament had, he ſaid, been aſſured by a ſolemn ſpeech from the throne, that an alliance had been entered into between the emperor and Spain, in conformity to the ſecret articles of which, Gibraltar was to have been wreſted from us, and the pretender placed by force on the throne

throne of Great Britain. Conſidering the ſituation and circumſtances of the contracting powers at that period, this intelligence appeared to many at the time romantic and incredible; and it was now known to be falſe, though it was then repreſented as highly diſreſpectful to the crown ſo much as to doubt it. We were now called upon, in a manner ſtill more extraordinary, to give credit to a ſurmiſe of danger from France, which the right honorable gentleman himſelf does not profeſs to believe; and in conſequence of this groundleſs apprehenſion, to devolve for ſix months the whole power of parliament upon the crown—a demand which deſerved to be treated with ridicule, and rejected with indignation." Sir Robert Walpole immediately roſe, and proteſted, "that while he had the honor to ſerve the crown, he could not ſit ſtill and hear it ſo injuriouſly reflected upon. His late majeſty's aſſertion, relative to the ſecret articles of the treaty of Vienna, he ſaid, was as true and as well founded as any that ever came from the throne. It was indeed inſolently contradicted by M. Palm, the imperial ambaſſador; but the king received his information from thoſe who could not be deceived—and the miniſter declared himſelf to be as certain that there were ſuch articles, as if he had been preſent at the framing of them *: and however indiſcreet this declaration might be thought in actual circumſtances—he could not, in juſtice to the memory of the late king, ſay leſs." In concluſion, the queſtion being put, upon the motion for the addreſs, it was carried in the affirmative, by 248 voices againſt 147 —although Mr. Pulteney, who terminated the debate,

* Lord Townſhend, ſecretary of ſtate at the period alluded to, made ſimilar declaration in the houſe of peers; without, however, being able to remove the obſtinate incredulity of a great part of his noble auditors.

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had given it as his opinion, that "the meſſage before the houſe was of a nature ſo extraordinary, and involved in it ſuch culpability, that if the ſpirit of liberty—that ſpirit which brought about the revolution, and eſtabliſhed the preſent family upon the throne—was not abſolutely extinguiſhed in the nation, we might expect to ſee a future parliament not only cenſure, but condemn and puniſh, thoſe who had been the chief adviſers of ſuch a meaſure." On the 16th of April the king put an end to the ſeſſion by a ſpeech, in which he declared, that "he ſhould think himſelf inexcuſable if he parted with this parliament, without doing them the juſtice to acknowledge the many ſignal proofs they had given, through the courſe of ſeven years, of their duty, fidelity, and attachment to his perſon and government, and their conſtant regard to the true intereſt of their country." The parliament having now ſat nearly the full term preſcribed by the ſeptennial act, was diſſolved on April 18, 1734, and a new parliament immediately convoked by royal proclamation.

In the ſpring of this year the marriage of the princeſs royal with the prince of Orange was celebrated with great magnificence and public rejoicings; and the parliament, as a teſtimony of their entire approbation of this alliance, voted the ſum of 80,000l. as a portion to the princeſs, and an annuity for life of 5000l. payable out of the civil liſt. His ſerene highneſs the prince is thus favorably deſcribed, in a letter to lord Townſhend, ſecretary of ſtate, from the earl of Cheſterfield, ambaſſador at the Hague: "The prince of Orange has extreme good parts; is perfectly well-bred; with an eaſe and freedom that is ſeldom acquired, but by a long knowledge of the world. The acclamations of the people are loud and univerſal. He aſſumes not the leaſt dignity, but has all the affability and

and inſinuation that is neceſſary for a perſon who would raiſe himſelf in a popular government."

The new parliament being convened in January 1735, quickly diſcovered a diſpoſition to ſupport, with zeal not inferior to that of their predeceſſors, the meaſures of the preſent adminiſtration. The king, in his ſpeech, expreſſed "his concern at the preſent commotions on the continent; and though he had hitherto reſiſted the preſſing ſolicitations of the court of Vienna for aid in this war, he hoped that his good ſubjects would not repine at the neceſſary means of placing him in a ſituation to act that part which might eventually be incumbent upon him." The houſe, in a grand committee of ſupply, voted, in conſequence of this ſuggeſtion, near 60,000 men for the ſea and land-ſervice of the year; though not without the vehement oppoſition of the patriots, who demonſtrated the folly of taking any part whatever in theſe unintelligible and everlaſting broils upon the continent, upon pretence of which this alarming augmentation of our military force was founded: and Sir William Wyndham remarked, "that notwithſtanding the long continuance of peace, ſuch had been the exorbitant charges and expences by ſubſidies and armaments, that the people had not been relieved from the burden of a ſingle tax impoſed during the preceding war."

A clauſe being inſerted in the addreſs, aſſuring his majeſty "that this houſe will cheerfully and effectually raiſe ſuch ſupplies as ſhall be neceſſary for the honor and ſecurity of his majeſty and theſe kingdoms"—it was moved that the following words be added, "ſo ſoon as the proper information of the ſtate of public affairs ſhall be communicated to this houſe, and in proportion to ſuch efforts as ſhall be made by ſuch of the allies who are under the ſame engagements as this nation, and who are not involved in the war." On a diviſion the amend-

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ment was rejected, by 265 votes againſt 185—a minority plainly indicative of the reluctance of the houſe to engage as parties in the preſent war; in which it appears that England interfered ſo far, as to give extreme umbrage to the courts of Verſailles and Madrid, though not far enough to render any real ſervice to the emperor, who had flattered himſelf with the hope of a revival of the grand alliance in his favor.

Mr. Horace Walpole was not diſcouraged, however, from almoſt immediately moving for a ſubſidy to Denmark, purſuant to a treaty entered into by his majeſty with the king of Denmark for that purpoſe; and which originated, according to the allegations of the mover, in a juſt and proper regard to the preſervation of the *balance of power* in Europe *—an expreſſion ſo inceſſantly in the mouth of this miniſter, that he was commonly known under the ludicrous appellation of *balance-maſter*. The leaders of oppoſition treated the motion with indignant contempt. All the powers of Europe, it was affirmed, were as much or more intereſted in the preſervation of this *balance* as England: and ſhould it ever be really endangered, they would certainly engage in its defence, with-

* The ſecret hiſtory of this Daniſh ſubſidy has already been tranſiently alluded to. It is *a myſtery of State*, involved in too much obſcurity and perplexity to be fully and completely developed. By this treaty, 80 crowns were allowed for each horſeman, and 30 for every foot-ſoldier: one half to be paid immediately on ſigning the treaty, and the remainder when the troops ſhall be *delivered*. Beſides this, his majeſty the king of Great Britain engages to pay to his majeſty the king of Denmark the annual ſum of 250,000 crowns *banco*, till ſuch time as the ſaid troops ſhall be taken into full pay, and the ſum of 150,000 crowns yearly afterwards. What a happineſs for Britain, that the equipoiſe of the political balance, whenever diſordered, may be ſo eaſily re-adjuſted, by the judicious application of theſe golden weights! No leſs than 178 members of the houſe of commons divided nevertheleſs againſt this ſo obviouſly wiſe and ſalutary meaſure.

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out being hired to do ſo by Britiſh ſubſidies. But were England perpetually the firſt to take the alarm, and ſhould this practice of ſubſidizing be eſtabliſhed, every ſtate would expect a gratification for doing what it would otherwiſe be obliged to do for its own preſervation, and the whole charge of maintaining this balance would fall upon Great Britain. Even our allies the ſtates-general might at laſt refuſe to aſſiſt in trimming this balance, unleſs the grand penſionary of Holland were alſo to become the *grand penſionary* of England. The queſtion being put, the motion was approved, and the ſubſidy granted by the houſe. The ſeſſion cloſing in May (1735), the king thanked his faithful commons for the ſupplies they had granted with ſuch cheerfulneſs and diſpatch; and immediately after the prorogation, his majeſty embarked for the continent, leaving the queen, as uſual, ſole regent during his abſence.

For ſeveral years paſt, a ſtrict amity had ſubſiſted between the two courts of Madrid and Liſbon, which was in the year 1728 cemented by a double marriage of the royal families—the prince of Aſturias eſpouſing the eldeſt princeſs of Portugal, and the prince of Brazil the infanta of Spain, formerly affianced to Louis XV. king of France —the courts meeting in a temporary edifice erected over the bed of the Coya, which divides the two kingdoms, where the princeſſes were exchanged. In the courſe of this year, however, the good underſtanding between them was unhappily interrupted by a frivolous diſpute, originating in a real or pretended violation of the privileges of the ambaſſador of Portugal reſident at Madrid. The quarrel ran ſo high, that the miniſters of the two crowns were recalled, and warlike preparations made on each ſide. The king of Portugal, conſcious of his inability to encounter the power of Spain, nominated Don Antonio d'Aizeveda as his ambaſſador extraordinary to the

the court of London, to ſolicit the aid and protection of his ally the king of Great Britain. By the efficacious aſſiſtance of England had the independency of Portugal and the rights of the ducal and royal houſe of Braganza been ultimately eſtabliſhed, after a conteſt of twenty-eight years: and as a juſt compenſation for this great ſervice, very important commercial privileges were conceded to the Engliſh nation by the crown of Portugal; and thus the intereſts of that opulent but feeble kingdom became inſeparably connected with thoſe of Great Britain; and upon this potent alliance ſhe chiefly depended, and ſtill depends, for her exiſtence as a diſtinct and ſovereign power. Don Pedro, who ſucceeded to the throne on the depoſition of his brother Alphonſo, died A. D. 1706, after a reign of thirty years. His ſon, Don Juan, faithfully adhered to the political engagements entered into by his father as a party in the grand alliance againſt the houſe of Bourbon. But after the concluſion of the treaty of Utrecht, the court of Liſbon had cautiouſly avoided involving herſelf in the various contentions of the European powers. Upon the preſent occaſion the court of London adopted, without heſitation, meaſures the moſt vigorous and deciſive. A powerful fleet, under the command of Sir John Norris, ſailed for the Tagus, in order to protect the coaſts and the commerce of Portugal; and particularly to convoy the Brazil fleet, then richly laden, in ſafety to Liſbon. And Mr. Keene, the Britiſh envoy at Madrid, was expreſsly commanded to communicate to his Catholic majeſty, the reſolution of the king of England to grant effectual ſuccors to his ally. Notwithſtanding ſome angry complaints on the part of Spain, of the partial conduct of England, this interpoſition completely anſwered the purpoſe intended by it; and an accommodation took place between the courts

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of Spain and Portugal, before the concluſion of the year.

The ſucceeding ſeſſion of parliament was diſtinguiſhed chiefly by a motion made in the houſe of commons, March 1736, for the repeal of thoſe clauſes in the teſt act, which barred or obſtructed the admiſſion of *proteſtant diſſenters* to civil employments. This motion, though ably ſupported, ſeems to have been ſomewhat unadviſed and unſeaſonable—as being brought forward, not merely without the concurrence, but contrary to the inclination of the court, and at a juncture in no reſpect favorable to its ſucceſs. It is not, however, to be inferred, that the court was really adverſe to the purport of the motion abſtractedly conſidered; but the miniſter well knew the riſque and obloquy which might attend his open and avowed ſupport of this meaſure. He recollected, doubtleſs, that the utmoſt influence of the crown had been unavailingly exerted in the late reign to procure the repeal of theſe clauſes, when a bill for that purpoſe was moved by the late earl Stanhope. His popularity had lately ſuſtained a rude ſhock, in conſequence of the attempt made to extend and invigorate the operation of the laws of revenue: and he dreaded leſt the cry of DANGER TO THE CHURCH ſhould produce effects ſtill more detrimental to his credit and ſafety, than that which ſtill vibrated in his ears, of LIBERTY, PROPERTY, AND NO EXCISE. Although he had, previouſly to the late election, flattered the diſſenters with the hope of relief, he thought proper, therefore, when the motion was actually made, to oppoſe the repeal, as in preſent circumſtances inexpedient, impolitic, and improper; in conſequence of which it was rejected by a very great majority. The motion was, by a fruitleſs and injudicious perſeverance, revived in a ſubſequent ſeſſion of this parliament, when it was again negatived by the ſame miniſterial majority. It is remarkable,

able, however, that no conſiderable or laſting reſentment appears to have been excited in the breaſts of the diſſenters in conſequence of this diſappointment: ſo well was it underſtood that the king was himſelf ſtrongly diſpoſed to favor the repeal, and that the miniſter was actuated by motives, not of animoſity, but of an urgent and overruling political neceſſity. It muſt not be omitted, that in this ſeſſion the parliament repealed the antient ſtatutes againſt conjuration and witchcraft, thereby relieving the Engliſh judicial code from a ſmall part of that heavy load of trumpery, abſurdity, and oppreſſion, by which, in the worſe than Egyptian darkneſs of paſt ages, it had been ſo unhappily and dreadfully diſgraced.

About this time a new ſect of religioniſts aroſe, diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *methodiſts*, who ſoon appeared to be divided into two diſtinct claſſes under their reſpective leaders, Whitfield and Weſley—prieſts of the Engliſh church, regularly educated and ordained—the firſt of them adopting the calviniſtic, the latter the arminian dogmas in theology; correſponding in this reſpect to the ſects of janſeniſts and moliniſts, in the gallican church. Profeſſing ſtill to adhere to the communion of the church of England, of which they boaſted themſelves to be the only true and genuine members, they yet indulged in the wildeſt flights and extravagancies of ſectarian fanaticiſm—preaching in the fields to vaſt multitudes—ſuffering with patience every inſult and outrage, and perſiſting, at the extreme peril of their lives, in thoſe ſpiritual labors to which they conceived themſelves called by a ſort of ſupernatural impulſe *. Many reſpectable perſons were

* "GOD in the ſcripture," ſays one of the leaders of this ſect, in very elevated language, "commands me, according to my power, to inſtruct the ignorant, reform the wicked, and confirm the virtuous. A diſ-

of opinion, that the government ought in ſome mode to interfere in order to check theſe novel and dangerous ebullitions of enthuſiaſm. But to the honor of the government, not only was the idea of perſecution in every form rejected with abhorrence, but the protection of the law was extended to them upon all occaſions. And the wiſdom of maintaining inviolate the grand principle of TOLERATION has rarely appeared in a more ſtriking point of view. In a few years the fanatical fervors characteriſtic of a new ſect, not being irritated and inflamed by the oppoſition of the civil powers, gradually ſubſided. And though the number of proſelytes was prodigious—part remaining in and part ſeceding from the eſtabliſhed church; no injury to the community has reſulted from this diffuſion of methodiſtic principles. On the contrary, the good effects of their moral and religious inſtructions, though ſtill blended with much ſpeculative abſurdity and myſticiſm, are at this time apparent in the orderly and virtuous conduct of thouſands in their communities, who would otherwiſe have ſunk in the depths of ignorance, vice, and barbariſm. And truth and juſtice require the acknowledgement, that many, both of the clergy and laity, who now paſs under the vague and popular denomination of methodiſts, are perſons of the higheſt worth, talents, and reſpectability.

The tranquillity which prevailed throughout the kingdom at this time was unhappily interrupted by a tu-

A diſpenſation of the goſpel is committed to me, and woe is me if I preach not the goſpel! In whatever part of the world I am, I judge it meet, right, and my bounden duty, to declare unto all that are willing to hear the glad tidings of ſalvation. This is the work which I *know* GOD hath called me unto. And if it be his pleaſure to throw down the walls of Jericho, not by the engines of war, but by the blaſts of rams horns; who ſhall ſay unto him, what doeſt thou?"——*Weſley's works.*

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mult of a very ſingular nature, which took place in the city of Edinburgh, during the abſence of the king. It happened that, at the execution of a man convicted under circumſtances of peculiar hardſhip, by trial in the court of admiralty, as a ſmuggler, the military guard which attended were groſsly inſulted by the populace; in revenge of which, captain Porteous, the commandant, was provoked to order the ſoldiers to fire upon the people, without the previous ſanction of the magiſtrate. In conſequence of this raſh and precipitate order, ſeveral innocent perſons ſuffering the loſs of their lives, Porteous was tried for murder, convicted, and received ſentence of death; but the queen, as regent, thought fit to grant him a reprieve. The populace of Edinburgh, nevertheleſs, exaſperated in the higheſt degree at the conduct of this officer, who was well known to be a man of abandoned morals, determined that he ſhould not eſcape puniſhment: and on the very evening of the day on which, according to his ſentence, he was deſtined to ſuffer, the priſon of the Tolbooth was forced with ſuch order and deliberate reſolution, as afforded a ſtrong preſumption that it was the reſult of a plot formed by perſons far above thoſe uſually concerned in ſimilar outrages. Leaving the delinquent ſuſpended by the neck from a dyer's pole, they quickly and quietly diſperſed; nor was it ever diſcovered who were the perpetrators of this daring act of violence, notwithſtanding a reward of 200l. was offered by proclamation for ſuch detection. The government, inflamed with reſentment at this atrocious violation of the laws, inſtituted a parliamentary inquiry into the circumſtances of this extraordinary affair; in the courſe of which three Scottiſh judges in their robes were examined as witneſſes at the bar of the houſe of lords. And though it did not appear that the magiſtrates had been any way deficient in their duty upon this occaſion, a bill was brought in for

diſabling the lord provoſt of Edinburgh from holding any office of magiſtracy in Great Britain—for aboliſhing the guard of that city, and for taking away the gates of the Nether-bow-port, which during this tranſaction had been ſhut, in order to prevent the troops quartered in the ſuburbs from entering the city. This bill was oppoſed by almoſt all the Scottiſh repreſentatives, and many other reſpectable members of both houſes, with great vehemence: and the duke of Argyle, in particular, arguing againſt the principle of it, ſaid, that "he could not think of a meaſure more harſh or unprecedented than the preſent bill; and he believed there was no inſtance of the whole weight of parliamentary indignation falling upon any individual, and far leſs upon any community, for crimes that were within the reach of the inferior courts of juſtice—that ſhould the preſent bill paſs into a law, the lord provoſt and citizens of Edinburgh would ſuffer by a cruel, unjuſt, and fantaſtical proceeding—a proceeding of which the worſt uſe might be made, if ever the nation ſhould have the misfortune to fall under a vindictive, arbitrary, and tyrannical adminiſtration"—an obſervation which ſubſequent events forcibly recalled to public recollection. Notwithſtanding all oppoſition, the bill paſſed, and was carried into rigorous execution, to the great and inexpreſſible indignation of the whole Scottiſh nation. And this raſh and paſſionate attempt to vindicate the honor of the crown by inſulting the majeſty and wounding the feelings of the people, afforded a new proof of the truth and juſtice of the obſervation of the celebrated chancellor Oxenſtierne, "that it is wonderful by how ſmall a portion of wiſdom the world is governed." In the ſtead of theſe impolitic meaſures of revenge and degradation, it would have given pleaſure to every liberal mind, had occaſion been taken from this incident, ſuppoſing it to indicate any want of energy in the executive power,

power, to reſtore to Scotland thoſe diſtinctions of national honor and authority of which that kingdom had been unneceſſarily and invidiouſly diveſted by the treaty of union. There appears no juſt reaſon why Scotland ſhould not have its own reſident great officers of ſtate, why its privy council ſhould be annihilated, why the high commiſſioner of the crown ſhould not, as in the times preceding the union, be enabled to ſupport his elevated rank and ſtation in a manner ſuitable to the national dignity; and why the royal palace of the kings of Scotland ſhould be ſuffered to exhibit a picture of melancholy and decay, ſcarcely to be diſtinguiſhed from the ruins of BALCLUTHA. "I have ſeen," ſays the antient bard of Caledonia, "the walls of Balclutha, but they were deſolate. The fire had reſounded in the halls, but the voice of the people is heard no more. The ſtream of Clutha was removed from its place by the fall of the walls. The thiſtle ſhook there its lonely head; the moſs whiſtled to the wind. The fox looked out from the windows; the rank graſs of the wall waved round his head. Deſolate is the dwelling of Moina; ſilence is in the houſe of her fathers."

In April 1736, the marriage of the prince of Wales, who was conſidered as the determined enemy of the miniſter, and the head of the oppoſition, with Auguſta princeſs of Saxe-Gotha, was celebrated; and in the courſe of the enſuing ſeſſion a motion was made by Mr. Pulteney, and ſeconded by Sir John Barnard, for an addreſs to the king, that he would be pleaſed to ſettle 100,000l. per annum out of the civil liſt revenues upon the prince *. This was violently oppoſed by the courtiers,

* The prince of Wales highly reſented, and with great apparent reaſon, that out of a civil liſt of 800,000l. a revenue of 50,000l. per ann. only ſhould be allotted to him, although his father, when prince, had

tiers, as an encroachment upon the king's prerogative; and it was finally negatived by a majority of 30 voices, the numbers being 234 to 204, though not without producing an entire alienation between the two courts of St. James's and Leiceſter houſe; and the prince was not even permitted, in the laſt illneſs of the queen, who expired November 1737, much eſteemed and lamented by the Engliſh nation, to implore her forgiveneſs or to receive her departing benediction.

At this period, a war broke out between the Ruſſian and Ottoman empires, occaſioned, as was pretended, by certain incurſions of the Tartar tribes into the Ruſſian territories: but in reality by the ambitious and eager deſire of the court of Peterſburg to regain poſſeſſion of the important maritime city of Aſoph, which was one of the earlieſt acquiſitions of the emperor Peter the great, but which that monarch was afterwards compelled to ſacrifice, in order to extricate himſelf from the perilous extremity to which, in his laſt war with Turkey, he found himſelf reduced, on the banks of the Pruth. Aſoph was accordingly beſieged and taken; and when ſatisfaction and reparation were offered by the Porte, for the injuries ſuſ-

had 100,000l. out of a civil liſt of 700,000l.—nor does the ſum required by the prince appear more than adequate to the ſuperiority of his rank and ſtation. As this reſolution of the prince embarraſſed many who held places under the government, and were at the ſame time deſirous to keep on fair terms with the ſucceſſor, he was adviſed by Mr. Doddington, afterwards lord Melcombe, whom he admitted into his confidence, to apply to parliament for an *additional grant* of 50,000l. per ann.; but the prince replied, with a generoſity truly noble, "THAT THE NATION HAD DONE ENOUGH FOR HIS FAMILY ALREADY, AND THAT HE WOULD RATHER BEG HIS BREAD FROM DOOR TO DOOR, THAN BE A FARTHER CHARGE TO THEM." Many of the tories, regarding the motion as dangerouſly democratic, left the houſe in a body previous to the diviſion, though Sir William Wyndham had taken upon him to anſwer to the prince for their concurrence.

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tained by Ruſſia, the Czarina declared her reſolution not to relinquiſh her conqueſt. And the emperor of Germany, being under obligation by treaty to aſſiſt the Ruſſians, became in a ſhort time a principal in the war, which proved to him only a ſeries of diſaſters. A peace was at length obtained at the expence of Orſova, Belgrade, and the entire province or kingdom of Servia, which were ceded by the emperor to the Turks. The Ruſſians, who had, under the conduct of the famous Mareſchal Munich, made great progreſs in the reduction of the provinces north of the Danube, on their part reſtored Oczakow, Choczim, and Bender, and the poſſeſſion of Aſoph was confirmed to them by the Porte.

In the ſeſſion of parliament held A. D. 1737, a motion being made for the continuance of the ſame number of land-forces as had been voted the preceding year, a vehement debate aroſe. For though, in our own more courtly days, a much larger number is annually voted almoſt as a matter of courſe, it was conſidered as one of the moſt important and moſt laudable objects of patriotiſm in theſe times to procure, if not an abolition, at leaſt a reduction, of a military force, deteſted and deprecated as uſeleſs, expenſive, and dangerous. In vindication of the motion, the miniſtry ſcrupled not to affirm, "that if the army was diſbanded, the *tory intereſt* would quickly predominate—that the kingdom was filled with clamor and diſcontent, which a ſtanding military force only could effectually repreſs—that the ſupport of the *whig intereſt* demanded the maintenance of this force; and it was hoped and preſumed that the houſe would vote triple the number, if adjudged neceſſary for this purpoſe." The members of the oppoſition replied, in their accuſtomed ſtrain of *vain reaſoning*, "that this vindication contained in it a ſentence of ſelf-condemnation—for to what cauſe could the ſpirit of clamor and diſcontent be aſcribed, but

to

to the miſconduct of the miniſtry? and it was from their own acknowledgement clear, that what they were pleaſed to ſtyle the whig intereſt, was in fact an inconſiderable party which had engroſſed the power of government by indirect and unconſtitutional methods—which acted contrary to the ſenſe of the nation, and which depended for ſupport upon that very military force which was the grand ſource of the national diſcontent, which perpetuated the national taxes, and which menaced the national liberties with deſtruction. The claim of the miniſtry and their adherents in the houſe to the appellation of whigs, was warmly diſputed; and Sir John Hynde Cotton declared, "that a genuine whig could never vote for a ſtanding army in time of peace. Whigs, ſaid this member, who are true to their principles, will oppoſe all unlimited votes of credit—will deprecate the corruption of the legiſlative power, as the greateſt curſe that can befall a nation—they will eſteem the liberty of the preſs to be the invaluable privilege of a free people; and frequent parliaments to be the grand bulwark of their liberties. A whig adminiſtration would never ſuffer injuries done to the Britiſh commerce to paſs unnoticed, or inſults offered to the Britiſh flag to paſs unrevenged." It is remarkable, that Sir John Hynde Cotton was himſelf educated in tory principles, and was in early life cloſely connected with the principal leaders of that once formidable faction. But the panegyric now pronounced upon whig principles clearly and infallibly indicated, that the proper and peculiar tenets of toryiſm—paſſive obedience, non-reſiſtance, and the indefeaſible rights of royalty—were now fallen into contempt. The tories were inſenſibly led, in the courſe of their oppoſition to the erroneous and unconſtitutional meaſures of government, to adopt conſiſtent and rational principles. The very name

of

of TORY began to be conſidered as a term of reproach, and as ſuch was, in this debate, reſented and repelled. Still, however, in a certain ſenſe, Whiggiſm and Toryiſm have never ceaſed, and will never ceaſe to ſubſiſt. Whatever tends to enlarge the power of princes or of magiſtrates beyond the preciſe line or limit of the general good, whatever impoſes oppreſſive or even ſuperfluous reſtraints upon the liberty of the people, or introduces any ſpecies of civil inequality, not founded on the baſis of public utility, is of the eſſence of Toryiſm. On the other hand, genuine Whiggiſm is nothing more than good temper and good ſenſe, or, to adopt higher and more appropriate terms of expreſſion, benevolence and wiſdom applied to the ſcience of government.

The theatre in the metropolis of Britain having been recently, in various inſtances abuſed, as in ancient times at Athens, to the purpoſes of perſonal and political ſatire, a bill was at this period introduced for the prevention of this great and growing evil; agreeably to the proviſions of which, no new dramatic pieces could be exhibited without the expreſs licenſe firſt obtained of the lord Chamberlain. This bill paſſed through both houſes with little oppoſition, excepting that which it met with from the earl of Cheſterfield, who combated the principle of it with much animation and eloquence. His lordſhip declared, "that he regarded this meaſure as of a very extraordinary and dangerous nature; as a reſtraint not on the licentiouſneſs merely, but on the liberty of the ſtage; and as tending to a ſtill more dangerous reſtraint on the liberty of the preſs, which was intimately and inſeparably connected with the general liberty of the ſubject. He affirmed the laws, as they at preſent ſtood, to be ſufficient for the purpoſe of puniſhing ſeditious or immoral performances. The beſt, and indeed the only, mode of avoiding public ridicule and cenſure

cenſure was, he ſaid, to avoid ridiculous and vicious actions; for the people will neither ridicule thoſe they love and eſteem, nor ſuffer them to be ridiculed. An adminiſtration deſtitute of eſteem or reſpect among the people will be cenſured and ridiculed, nor will the ſevereſt edicts be found of force to prevent it. If we agree to the bill now before us, what ſhadow of excuſe can be ſuggeſted for refuſing to proceed a ſtep farther, and to extend the prohibition to printing and publiſhing thoſe dramas which are deemed unfit for public exhibition? Still political ſatires will appear under the title of Novels, Secret Hiſtory, Dialogues, &c.; but will you allow, my lords, a libel to be printed and diſperſed only becauſe it does not bear the title of a play? Thus, from the precedent before us, we ſhall be gradually prevailed upon to revive a general IMPRIMATUR, and then adieu to the liberties of Great Britain. I admit, my lords, that the ſtage ought not to meddle with politics, but for this very reaſon among others I object to the bill before us; for I fear it will be the occaſion of its meddling with nothing elſe—it will be made ſubſervient to the politics of the court only. This we know was actually the caſe in king Charles the Second's days; we know that Dryden, the poet Laureat of that reign, made his wit and genius thus ſubſervient to the deſigns of the court. When the ſecond Dutch war was in contemplation, he wrote his "Amboyna," in which he repreſents the people of Holland as avaricious, cruel, and ungrateful. When the excluſion bill was moved for, he wrote his "Duke of Guiſe," in which thoſe who were zealous for preſerving and ſecuring the liberties and religion of their country, were expoſed as a faction leagued together for the purpoſe of excluding a virtuous and heroic prince from that throne which was his lawful right, on account of his adopting a faith different from

from their own. The peculiar province of the ſtage, my lords, is, to expoſe thoſe vices and follies which the laws cannot lay hold of; but under the reſtraint of an arbitrary courſe licenſe, it will be entirely perverted from its proper uſe. To a man bred in the habits of a court, that may appear to be a libel againſt the court which is only a juſt and ſalutary ſatire upon its vices and follies. Courtiers, my lords, are too polite to reprove one another; the only place where they can meet with juſt rebuke is a free, though not a licentious ſtage. But by this bill, inſtead of leaving it what it now is, and always ought to be —a ſcourge for faſhionable vices—it will be converted into a channel for propagating them throughout the kingdom. Let us conſider, my lords, that arbitrary power has ſeldom or never been introduced into any country but by ſlow degrees, ſtep by ſtep, leſt the people ſhould perceive its approach. When the preparatory ſteps are made, the people may then indeed ſee ſlavery and arbitrary power making huge and hideous ſtrides over the land, when it is too late to avert the impending ruin. The bill before us I conſider as a ſtep very neceſſary to this purpoſe; and ſhould ſuch deſign ever be formed by any ambitious king or guilty miniſter, he would have reaſon to thank us for having ſo far facilitated his attempt; though ſuch thanks, I am convinced, every one of your lordſhips would bluſh to receive, and ſcorn to deſerve." The ill effects apprehended by this generous and patriotic nobleman have not, however, been as yet very apparent: and it muſt be acknowledged, that in a very few inſtances only does the invidious diſcretion veſted by this bill in the lord Chamberlain ſeem to have been capriciouſly or improperly exerciſed *.

In

* The GUSTAVUS VASA of Brooke, the MUSTAPHA of Mallet, and the EDWARD and ELEONORA of Thomſon, were in the number of

In the courſe of the ſame ſeſſion the houſe of commons having reſolved itſelf into a grand committee to take into conſideration the ſtate of the national debt, Sir John Barnard, member for the city of London, a man whoſe patriotiſm was dignified by the extent of his

of the Dramas rejected under the authority of this act. The firſt of theſe performances is animated throughout by a noble and enthuſiaſtic ſpirit of liberty; but the writer proteſts in his prefatory remarks, "that he had nothing to fear or hope from party or preferment—his attachments were only to truth; that he was conſcious of no other principles, and was far from apprehending that ſuch could be offenſive." There were, however, ſome paſſages in this tragedy which could not fail to be invidiouſly applied, if they could be ſuppoſed not invidiouſly deſigned. A ſpecimen or two may ſuffice:

"Are ye not mark'd, ye men of Dalecarlia,
Are ye not mark'd by all the circling world?
—Say, is not liberty the thirſt, the food,
The ſcope and bright ambition of your ſouls?
Why elſe have you and your renown'd forefathers,
From the proud ſummit of their glittering thrones,
Caſt down the mightieſt of your lawful kings
That dar'd the bold infringement? What but liberty,
Thro' the fam'd courſe of thirteen hundred years,
Aloof hath held invaſion from your hills,
And ſanctified their ſhade? And will ye, will ye
Shrink from the hopes of the expecting world?
Bid your high honors ſtoop to FOREIGN INSULT?
And in one hour give up to infamy
The harveſt of a thouſand years of glory?

"Where is that power whoſe engines are of force
To bend the brave and virtuous man to ſlavery?
Baſe fear, the lazineſs of luſt, groſs appetites,
Theſe are the ladders and the grovelling footſtool
From whence the tyrant riſes on our wrongs.
Secure, and ſceptred *in the ſoul's ſervility*,
He has debauch'd the Genius of our country,
And rides triumphant, while her captive ſons
Await his nod—the ſilken ſlaves of pleaſure."

knowledge,

knowledge, the ſoundneſs of his underſtanding, and the benevolence of his heart, moved for a bill to enable his majeſty to raiſe money either by the ſale of annuities, or by borrowing at an intereſt not exceeding 3 *per cent.* which ſum ſo raiſed ſhould be applied towards the redemption of the South-Sea annuities, allowing the preference of ſubſcription to the annuitants. Sir John Barnard remarked, "that even thoſe public ſecurities which bore an intereſt of 3 *per cent.* only, were now conſiderably above *par*; therefore there could be no room to doubt that the ſubſcription would immediately fill, were it a condition of the contract that the principal ſhould be made irredeemable for the term of fourteen years. When the South-Sea annuitants were thus reduced, the ſame plan might be adopted for redeeming the capital of the other trading companies, and, in time, of the whole public debt, without any violation of the public faith; that, by this means, the ſinking fund would be ſo much increaſed, that in a few years the parliament would be able to annihilate thoſe taxes which lay heavieſt upon the laboring and manufacturing poor; and that the remaining part of it, if faithfully applied, would, in a ſhort time, free the nation from all incumbrances." By this motion, at once ſo popular, feaſible, and beneficial, the miniſter ſeemed much embarraſſed; and it was clearly diſcernible that the executive government entertained no real wiſh or intention that the public debt, which ſo materially added both to its influence and its ſecurity, ſhould ever be liquidated. In order, therefore, to counteract the effect of a motion, which it would have been too hazardous openly and directly to oppoſe, Mr. Winnington, a zealous partiſan of the miniſter, moved that all the public creditors, as well as the South-Sea annuitants, ſhould

ſhould be comprehended. To this Sir John Barnard objected, "that it might be eaſy for the government to borrow money at 3 *per cent.* ſufficient for the redemption of a certain proportion of the public debt, though it might be extremely difficult, or even impracticable, to borrow money enough at once to liquidate the whole, amounting at this time to almoſt forty-eight millions." A bill was, however, ordered in upon the baſis of Mr. Winnington's propoſitions, which, being in the ſequel warmly attacked, and faintly defended, was finally poſtponed to a diſtant day by motion of the miniſter; though there is great reaſon to believe, from the ſucceſs of a ſimilar and more recent attempt, that the patriots in oppoſition formed an erroneous judgment reſpecting the difficulties attending its execution *.

In

* In the month of January (1737) died Dr. William Wake, who had filled the metropolitan See of Canterbury twenty-one years. Previous to his elevation to that high dignity, he had very honorably diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the liberality of his ſentiments, and the vigor of his exertions both in convocation and in parliament, particularly in his conteſt with Atterbury on the nature and extent of eccleſiaſtical authority; and in a moſt conſpicuous manner at the ever-memorable trial of Sacheverel. As one of the ableſt and firmeſt champions of the Low Church Party he was advanced, on the death of Dr. Tenniſon, A. D. 1716, to the Archiepiſcopal chair; but he ſoon made it viſible that "Lowliness is young ambition's ladder;" and when he had "attained the topmoſt round," he adopted, like his famous predeceſſor Becket, a totally new ſyſtem of principles and conduct. By the vehemence and pertinacity of his oppoſition, he eſſentially impeded on all occaſions the meritorious endeavors of the court for the advancement, and ſecurity, of the general ſyſtem of civil and religious liberty. And in a more eſpecial manner he labored to counteract the grand effort made by that generous and beneficent ſtateſman, lord Stanhope, under the auſpices of the late king, for the annihilation of thoſe odious diſtinctions which divided, and which continue to divide, the nation, and to perpetuate the animoſities of contending factions. Dr. Wake was

ſucceeded

In recording the tranſactions of the ſucceeding year (1738), it is unfortunately neceſſary to notice the violent miſunderſtanding which aroſe between the regency of Hanover and the king of Denmark, reſpecting the petty lordſhip of Steinhorſt, the revenue of which ſcarcely exceeded one thouſand pounds ſterling *per annum*. The caſtle of Steinhorſt, garriſoned by a ſlight detachment of Daniſh dragoons, was carried by aſſault, and the king of Denmark made great warlike preparation in order to revenge this affront, which moſt aſſuredly would never have been offered, had not Hanover depended upon the aid and protection of England. And the king of Denmark, conſcious of his inability to cope with Hanover, *and her* ALLY, had the addreſs to convert this incident to his own advantage, by concluding a convention with the king of England, agreeably to which he engaged to *hold in readineſs* a body of 6000 men for the ſervice of Great Britain. In return, Denmark, in addition to the ſtated pay of theſe troops, was to receive a ſubſidy of 250,000 crowns *per ann. and the lordſhip of Steinhorſt was ceded to Hanover*. When the duke of Newcaſtle produced this treaty in the ſucceed-

ſucceeded by Dr. Potter, tranſlated from the See of Oxford—a man moroſe in diſpoſition, and in deportment haughty; but of extenſive learning and exemplary morals. After filling the metropolitan throne ten years, this prelate was ſucceeded by Dr. Herring, archbiſhop of York, of whom it is difficult to be too profuſe in the praiſe. Placed at the head of the national communion, he appeared ſcarcely leſs pre-eminent in dignity of character than of ſtation; and the various excellencies aſcribed by the poet to various contemporary ornaments of the epiſcopal bench were in him happily conſolidated:

" Secker is decent, Rundle has a heart,
Manners with candor are to Benſon given,
To Berkely every virtue under heaven." POPE.

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ing ſeſſion for parliamentary ratification, lord Carteret earneſtly requeſted to be informed what uſe was intended to be made of theſe troops, as it was expreſsly ſtipulated by the articles of the treaty, that they ſhould neither be employed on board the fleet, nor be tranſported in whole or in part beyond ſea, nor ſerve againſt France or Spain, except in Germany or Flanders. His grace, however, *not being at liberty to divulge* THE KING'S SECRETS, the ſubſidy was granted; and at the ſame time, in conſequence of a meſſage from the throne, ſtating the exigency of public affairs, a vote of credit conformable to a ſimilar reſolution of the commons paſſed the houſe, notwithſtanding the animated remonſtrances of lord Carteret, who declared that nothing could be more dangerous to the conſtitution than this practice, which was but of modern date in England; it was never heard of before the Revolution, and but rarely till the nation was bleſſed with the preſent adminiſtration. Such a demand, he ſaid, our anceſtors would have heard with amazement, and rejected with ſcorn. If a general and unlimited vote of credit and confidence, his lordſhip affirmed, were to become a cuſtomary compliment at the end of every ſeſſion, parliaments would grow deſpicable in the eyes of the people; and it might be depended upon as an infallible conſequence, that when parliaments were once perceived to be uſeleſs and ſervile, they would, by a rapid gradation, become arbitrary and tyrannical.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

KINGS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

VOL. II.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

KINGS OF GREAT BRITAIN

OF THE HOUSE OF

BRUNSWIC-LUNENBURG.

BY W. BELSHAM.

VOL. II.

Ac mihi quidem videntur huc omnia esse referenda ab iis qui præsint aliis, ut ii qui eorum in imperio erunt, sint quàm beatissimi. CICERO.

DUBLIN:

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MDCCXCVI.

K. GEORGE II.

CONTINUED.

NOTWITHSTANDING the Treaty of Seville, concluded ſo long ſince as the year 1729, the Spaniards had never deſiſted from the commiſſion of thoſe inſults and depredations, for the prevention of which it was chiefly and profeſſedly made. They were even emboldened by the phlegmatic indifference, or puſillanimity, of the Engliſh Miniſter, to proceed to ſtill farther extremities. They now therefore diſputed the right of the Engliſh traders to cut logwood in the Bay of Campeachy, and to gather ſalt in the iſland of Tortuga, though of antient and eſtabliſhed practice, and never before called in queſtion. On pretence of the illicit commerce carried on by the Britiſh Weſt India Iſlands with the Spaniſh Main—and which, however contrary to the abſurd policy of Spain, was doubtleſs equally neceſſary and beneficial to both countries—armed veſſels, known by the name of *Guarda-Coſtas*,

Coſtas, were ſtationed in the uſual track of commercial intercourſe, which, on the plea of ſearching for contraband goods, ſeized, plundered, and inſolently detained, a great number of Britiſh merchant-ſhips at their diſcretion; and, without regarding the faith of nations, impriſoning the crews, and confiſcating the cargoes. The repeated memorials preſented by the Britiſh Ambaſſador at the Court of Madrid produced no ſort of effect. Evaſive anſwers, vague promiſes of inquiry, and cedulas of inſtructions ſent to the Spaniſh Governors in America, intended merely to amuſe, were all the advances which were made towards reparation and redreſs. The nation ſeemed at length fired with a general and juſt reſentment at theſe outrages. Petitions were preſented to Parliament in the ſeſſion of 1738, from the mercantile towns and cities, ſtating the violences to which they had been expoſed, and imploring relief and protection. The Houſe, in a grand committee, proceeded to hear counſel for the merchants, and to examine evidence; in the courſe of which it appeared, that the moſt horrid and wanton acts of cruelty had in various inſtances been perpetrated by the Spaniards on the ſubjects of Great Britain. One Jenkins, who appeared on this occaſion at the bar of the Houſe, gave a ſimple and affecting narrative of the ſavage treatment he had met with from the captain of a Spaniſh guarda-coſta, who, after exhauſting his invention in various modes of torture, tore off one of his ears, and bade him carry it to his King, adding withal many contumelious and opprobrious expreſſions. Deſpairing to eſcape alive from the hands of this barbarian, he recommended, he ſaid, his ſoul to God, and the revenge of his wrongs to his country. The Houſe, ſcarcely leſs inflamed than the populace with this recital, voted an unanimous addreſs to the King, "beſeeching his Majeſty to uſe his endeavors to obtain effectual relief for his injured ſubjects, to convince the Court of Spain that his Majeſty could no longer

longer ſuffer ſuch conſtant and repeated inſults and injuries to be carried on to the diſhonor of his Crown, and to the ruin of his ſubjects—and in caſe his applications proved fruitleſs, aſſuring him, that the Houſe would effectually ſupport his Majeſty in taking ſuch meaſures as honor and juſtice ſhould make it neceſſary for him to purſue." To this addreſs the King returned a gracious and favorable anſwer, and on the 20th of May 1738 the Parliament was prorogued.

Various motives concurred, nevertheleſs, to excite in the breaſt of the Miniſter an extreme reluctance firmly to reſolve on a declaration of war. During the long courſe of his adminiſtration, it had been the conſtant and favorite object of his policy, to preſerve the kingdom from that dire calamity. He perhaps doubted his talents for conducting a war with vigor and ability; and he might reaſonably apprehend, that any diſaſtrous event in the courſe of it might endanger his authority and ſafety. He was perſuaded that the commercial intereſts affected by theſe depredations were in themſelves too trivial, and of a nature too equivocal in point of right, to warrant the nation in having recourſe to a remedy ſo violent. He well knew that the union of the two Crowns of France and Spain was ſo ſtrongly cemented, that a war with one muſt inevitably involve us in a war with the other. And it was his invariable and avowed opinion, though contradicted happily by later experience, that England alone was not equal to cope with the combined force of the Houſe of Bourbon. Poſſeſſed with theſe ſentiments, he concluded, during the receſs of Parliament, a CONVENTION with Spain, ſigned at the PARDO in Madrid; by which the King of Spain obliged himſelf to make reparation to the Britiſh ſubjects for their loſſes within a certain period; and commiſſioners were appointed "for regulating all thoſe grievances and abuſes which had interrupted the commerce of Great Britain in the American ſeas; and for ſettling

tling all other matters in diſpute, in ſuch a manner as might for the future prevent and remove all new cauſes and pretences of complaint." When the terms of the Convention were communicated to the Parliament, which met February 1, 1739, it was treated with the moſt poignant contempt and ridicule. It was aſſerted by the Oppoſition, that Spain, ſo far from giving up her groundleſs and unjuſtifiable claim of viſiting and ſearching Britiſh ſhips ſailing to and from the Britiſh plantations, openly inſiſted upon it as a matter of right; for it was merely the differences which had ariſen in the exerciſe of this pretended right, and not the right itſelf, which they had ſubmitted to diſcuſſion. So that the undoubted and indiſputable rights of England, and the inſolent uſurpations of Spain, were referred to the mediation of plenipotentiaries, as reſting upon the ſame baſis of equality. It was obſerved, that if the miniſtry had made the reſolutions taken by Parliament in the laſt ſeſſion the foundation of their demands, a deciſive anſwer muſt have been obtained; but this Convention, ſtyled a treaty, was evidently no more than a preliminary to a treaty; and a moſt injurious and diſgraceful preliminary. It was an expedient illuſory and ignominious, inſecure though abject: and an aſſertion was riſqued, which eventually proved indeed ſtrictly true, that the expence of the commiſſion would exceed the ſum ultimately granted by Spain as an indemnification to the mercantile ſufferers *. It was alſo objected that the regulation of the limits of Carolina and Florida was referred to the determination of theſe plenipotentiaries, ſo that the territorial right of the infant colony of Georgia, which indubitably belonged to the Crown of Great Britain, was left open to diſpute, to the great and manifeſt diſcourage-

* The ſum allowed by Spain as an indemnification, a very inadequate one indeed, to the Britiſh merchants, was 95,000l.; from which, under various pretences, ſuch deductions were made, as reduced the balance to leſs than 20,000l. The Convention was ſigned at the Pardo, January 14, 1739.

diſcouragement of the ſettlers, who muſt deem themſelves placed in a moſt precarious and dangerous ſituation. The Miniſter, whoſe equanimity of temper was rarely ruffled by the bittereſt invectives, at length aroſe, and in a very able ſpeech vindicated his own conduct, and the terms of this Convention, by arguments which merit a much more impartial and diſpaſſionate attention than at this period of national delirium they could hope to obtain. "From the military glory of this empire, we are apt, ſaid this cautious and ſagacious ſtateſman, to flatter ourſelves that our arms are invincible; and the wars between England and Spain are particularly dazzling and faſcinating to the imagination. We ſee great navies defeated, great treaſures gained, and great glory acquired; and we have no leiſure to reflect that the ſituation of affairs is at preſent entirely different from what it once was. Spain indeed has long ceaſed by its own unaſſiſted ſtrength to excite the dread and terror of Europe. But the very circumſtance of its internal debility has been the means of procuring the ſupport and alliance of Powers, in conjunction with whom it would be romantic to expect that it ſhould not be able to defend itſelf againſt the moſt formidable attacks of England. We know that France, who is actually connected with Spain by the cloſeſt ties of policy and of blood, has at her command vaſt armies, fleets, and revenues; and to venture the honor and intereſt of the empire againſt ſuch a combination of ſuperior forces, would, without extreme neceſſity, be not only raſh but criminal. I do not affirm that no ſuch neceſſity can ariſe; but I affirm that no ſuch neceſſity yet exiſts. France and Holland have never conteſted thoſe claims which we profeſs to regard with ſuch indignation, and of which it is pretended we ought to inſiſt upon an abſolute renunciation on the part of Spain, without even ſuffering them to become the ſubject of diſcuſſion. But in the loweſt ſtate to which Spain has been ever reduced, this claim, which from long preſcription

preſcription ſhe no doubt thinks to be juſt, and perhaps eſſential to the preſervation of her American empire, has been invariably maintained. Spain is a nation ſteady to her purpoſe, proud, fond of power, and even of the ſhadow of it—ſcrupulouſly attached to formal inquiries and diſcuſſions. Let gentlemen then lay their hands on their hearts, and ſay whether it were adviſable to offer an inſult ſo groſs—or reaſonable to expect compliance with a demand ſo imperious. No one, it is ſurely preſumable, would have been better pleaſed than myſelf, had Spain thought fit to have given up this point by a clear and poſitive renunciation. But it is certain that the moſt ſucceſsful war would ſcarcely have been able to extort this conceſſion as a preliminary to a future treaty. But by this Convention a virtual renunciation at leaſt is obtained —for Spain has conſented to indemnify the ſubjects of Great Britain for the injuries they have ſuſtained in conſequence of her pretended rights as founded upon this claim. Surely then the adminiſtration of Great Britain muſt have been mad, had they deſperately plunged their country into a war, while it was in their power to conclude a peace, of which this great, this deciſive conceſſion was to ſerve as the foundation. Was it for Great Britain to reſolve to reject all conceſſions, and to hear of no other mode of terminating this difference than that of the ſword? Could it be conſiſtent with juſt policy to leave Spain in poſſeſſion of a plea ſo plauſible, ſo likely to intereſt all the Powers of Europe in her favor, as ſuch a conduct muſt have inevitably furniſhed? Might ſhe not have ſaid, "I have offered ſatisfaction, I have offered indemnity, I have offered a firm and faithful obſervance of treaties; but theſe offers have been refuſed; England therefore certainly harbors ſome deep and dangerous deſign, which it is the common intereſt of nations to oppoſe and counteract." Holland doubtleſs depends upon her commerce for her ſupport and political importance,

as

as much as ourſelves. But I am convinced that the government of that country would not have indulged the complaints of private traders ſo far as to make a public inquiry, which might have occaſioned an open rupture; nor would their Miniſters have inſiſted on immediate ſatisfaction. They know too well that very great abuſes are daily committed in the American trade. They know too well that the reſult of ſuch inquiry might and would have been very little to their advantage. It requires no great art, no great ability, in a Miniſter to purſue ſuch meaſures as might make a war inevitable. But as events depend ſo much on fortune, it is the part of a wiſe Miniſter to leave as little as poſſible to fortune. And the ſucceſs which any former Miniſter has met with from the favor of fortune, is no reaſon why a ſucceeding one ſhould tread the ſame dangerous and uncertain paths, when the ſame ends can be compaſſed in a way more ſafe and certain. I well know indeed that it is impoſſible for a Miniſter, let him adopt what mode of conduct he may, to ſatisfy thoſe whoſe invariable maxim it is, that the Miniſter can never be in the right, and conſequently that in their uniform oppoſition to all his meaſures they can never be in the wrong. Let us ſuppoſe that a war had been precipitately declared and vigorouſly proſecuted. Can we not eaſily imagine to ourſelves that we hear a ſyſtematic oppoſition-man violently declaiming on the benefits of peace?—telling the world that a commercial people ought ever to avoid war, as deſtructive to their intereſts even when moſt ſucceſsful? Fair and reaſonable terms, he would exclaim, have been offered. Spain has even conſented to indemnify our merchants for their loſſes. They have propoſed an amicable meeting, to adjuſt all points in difference—yet our miniſtry, far from liſtening to advances ſo reaſonable and equitable, have *blundered* us into an unjuſt, expenſive, and hazardous war. This I confeſs would have been *blundering*—and for the firſt time

time perhaps in the courſe of ſuch an oppoſition, the term would have been rightly applied. Future ages however, always impartial in their cenſure or praiſe, will, I am confident, do that juſtice to the counſels which have produced the Convention under our diſcuſſion, which paſſion and prejudice now refuſe. And there is even reaſon to believe that a ſhort time will remove thoſe miſapprehenſions reſpecting it, which, in conſequence of the clamors of artful and malicious traducers, ſo many perſons of real ſenſe, candor, and probity, have unhappily been led to entertain."—At length the queſtion being put for an addreſs of approbation to the King, as moved by Mr. Horace Walpole, it was carried in the affirmative, in a Houſe conſiſting of 496 members, by a majority only of 28. The numbers being declared, Sir William Wyndham roſe and remarked, " that the addreſs was intended to convince mankind that the treaty under conſideration was a juſt and honorable treaty—but if the people refuſed implicitly to reſign their reaſon to a vote of that Houſe, and a vote ſo circumſtanced, will not Parliament loſe its authority and influence with the public? Will it not be thought that the kingdom is governed by a faction, determined at all events to ſupport the meaſures of the Miniſter? I ſhall perhaps, ſaid he, trouble you no more, but my earneſt petition to Almighty God is, that he will preſerve this people—whom he has ſo often wonderfully protected, from the impending danger which threatens the nation from without, and likewiſe FROM THAT STILL GREATER DANGER WHICH THREATENS THE CONSTITUTION FROM WITHIN. Sir Robert Walpole was upon this occaſion provoked, in bitter and paſſionate language, to recall to the recollection of the Houſe, " that the gentleman who was now the mouth of his opponents, was twenty-five years before deeply engaged with thoſe traitors who had conſpired the deſtruction of their country; that the only uſe he had made

made of the clemency of government then extended to him, was to endeavor its ſubverſion; and he expreſſed his hope and confidence, that ſuch treachery and ingratitude would produce an union of all true friends to our preſent happy eſtabliſhment." Agreeably to the intimation previouſly given, a grand ſeceſſion of the members in oppoſition took place during the remainder of this ſeſſion, and the ſucceeding year Sir William Wyndham died, deeply regretted by the public at large, who had long forgotten his early political attachments, as one of the chief ornaments of the Britiſh ſenate and nation. In eloquence he had, by general acknowledgment, no rival but Mr. Pulteney. In the calm diſcuſſion of ordinary topics, he is indeed ſaid to have been an unintereſting and ungraceful ſpeaker; but when warmed and animated with his ſubject, he diſplayed all the fire and force of a Demoſthenes. In the Houſe of Lords the oppoſition of the Court was no leſs formidable. The Prince of Wales divided in perſon againſt the addreſs, and his example was followed by ſeventy-three Peers—thirty-nine of whom afterwards ſigned a proteſt againſt it, framed in terms of diſtinguiſhed ſpirit and ability. Towards the concluſion of the ſeſſion the Houſe of Commons voted the ſum of five hundred thouſand pounds, for augmenting the forces of Great Britain in caſe of emergency. A motion being made in the Houſe of Peers by Lord Bathurſt for an addreſs to know whether Spain had paid the money ſtipulated by the Convention, the time limited for the payment being now expired; the Duke of Newcaſtle acquainted the Houſe, that he was commanded by his Majeſty to inform them that it was not paid; and that Spain had as yet given no reaſon for the non-payment—Upon which Lord Carteret moved, that the failure of Spain in this particular was a breach of the Convention, a high indignity to his Majeſty, and an injuſtice to the nation. After a vehement debate the motion

motion was evaded by the previous queſtion. And June 14, 1739, the ſeſſion was cloſed by a ſpeech from the throne, in which the King aſſured the two Houſes, "that he would not be wanting in his endeavors to vindicate and maintain the undoubted rights of the nation, and to anſwer the juſt expectations of his people." Immediately on the prorogation of Parliament, letters of marque and repriſal were iſſued againſt the Spaniards. But the Miniſter ſtill indulging a fond and lingering hope of averting that war, which was now become certain and inevitable, tranſmitted inſtructions to Mr. Keene, the Britiſh Envoy at Madrid, to declare that the King of Great Britain did not intend to be thereby underſtood to break the peace, or to deviate from the treaties ſubſiſting between the two Crowns—and that he had it expreſsly in charge to aſſure the Court of Spain, that as ſoon as the Catholic King ſhould be diſpoſed to make the juſt ſatisfaction demanded of him, repriſals ſhould ceaſe, and give way to an accommodation. To which the Marquis de Villarias, the Spaniſh Miniſter, with great dignity replied in the name of his ſovereign, "that the King of Spain neither acknowledged the right of the King of England to make repriſals, or to authorize others to make them—that his Catholic Majeſty would regard theſe repriſals as a declaration of war, and that on the firſt intelligence of ſuch act of hoſtility, Mr. Keene ſhould have notice to leave the kingdom." Lord Waldegrave, the Britiſh Ambaſſador at Paris, having communicated to the Court of Verſailles the reſolution of the King of England, Cardinal Fleury appeared much moved —and ſtyling it a *terrible reſolution*, told the Ambaſſador that he ſincerely deprecated the conſequences which there was too much reaſon to believe would be found to reſult from it. The Cardinal however, in this criſis, offered as a laſt reſort, through the medium of the French Ambaſſador in London, the mediation of France, in order to compromiſe

compromiſe the differences ſubſiſting between the two Crowns; at the ſame time intimating that his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, in caſe of a refuſal of his good offices, would be obliged to fulfil his engagements with Spain. To which it was replied by the Engliſh Court, that the union ſubſiſting between France and Spain was too ſtrong to permit his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty to act with perfect impartiality in ſuch a mediation, and that this muſt be conſidered as a ſufficient reaſon for declining the acceptance of it. Upon which the Ambaſſador declared his preſence in London to be entirely uſeleſs, and his continuance probably of very ſhort duration. If the Miniſter be juſtly chargeable with tameneſs and puſillanimity in the conduct of his long and tedious negotiations with Spain, it muſt be acknowledged that he ſeemed determined, by the formidable preparations both naval and military, which were now made, to carry on that war with vigor and effect, into which he had entered with ſo much heſitation and reluctance, and which would have been in all probability much more effectually prevented, by the early aſſumption of a bolder and more reſolute tone, and the actual appearance of a powerful Britiſh ſquadron in the Weſt Indies, than by the numberleſs querulous and garrulous memorials preſented for a ſucceſſion of years at the Court of Madrid; which appeared to deem it ſufficient condeſcenſion to ſuffer the inceſſant repetition of the ſame unheeded tale. In the month of October 1739, war was formally declared againſt Spain: and Rear-admiral Vernon, a rough and reſolute ſeaman, having been previouſly appointed to the command of the Britiſh naval force on the Weſt India ſtation, univerſal joy was excited by the important intelligence which arrived early in the enſuing year, that he had taken the city of Porto-Bello on the iſthmus of Darien, with ſix ſhips only. Admiral Vernon received on this occaſion the thanks of the Houſe of Commons, and became the theme of the moſt

moſt extravagant panegyric. It was however remarked by ſome political *cynics*, that though the attempt was bold, the reſiſtance was feeble; and had it not been crowned with ſucceſs by the caprice of fortune, the commander would have incurred very ſevere cenſure for making a diſplay of his valor ſo much at the expence of his diſcretion. The talents of this officer were, in conſequence of the glory acquired by this brilliant *coup-de-main*, thought equal to any undertaking. And one of the moſt formidable armaments which ever ſailed from the harbors of Great Britain, deſtined for the attack of Carthagena on the Spaniſh main, was entruſted to his care and conduct, with the higheſt confidence of ſucceſs. The command of the land forces on board the fleet, on the death of Lord Cathcart, devolved upon General Wentworth; and it ſoon appeared that the leaders of this expedition were palpably deficient in the moſt eſſential requiſites of their reſpective ſtations. Ignorance, raſhneſs, and diſſenſion characterized all their operations: and after ſuſtaining immenſe loſs, not ſo much from the ill-concerted attacks made upon the town and its adjoining forts, as from the tropical diſeaſes which raged amongſt the troops, they were finally compelled to a precipitate and diſgraceful retreat. And after reinforcements had been received from England, and the health of the men reſtored, nothing was attempted by the Admiral to retrieve his own reputation, or the honor of the Britiſh arms; and the nation began to be ſenſible that they had formed much too high an idea of his character*. A ſquadron under the command of Commodore Anſon was detached into the South Seas, in order to annoy the

* Previous to the ſailing of this great armament for Carthagena, the Court of Verſailles again offered its mediation, declaring its willingneſs for this purpoſe to act in concert with the Courts of Vienna and Liſbon—but this offer was, probably with ſecret reluctance, rejected by the Court of London.

Spaniſh

Spaniſh ſettlements in that quarter. But from the harm ſuſtained in the perpetual war of ſtorms and tempeſts, rather than oppoſition of the enemy, the primary deſign of the expedition proved abortive. The Commodore made however a great number of rich prizes off the coaſts of Chili and Peru, which he long kept in alarm. Landing with a detachment of ſeamen and marines, he took and plundered the town of Paita, and the conſternation excited by this enterpriſe extended even to the city of Lima; but his force was too inconſiderable to attempt any permanent conqueſt. In croſſing the Pacific Ocean, he had the good fortune to meet with and capture a Spaniſh galleon, bound from Acapulco to the Philippines, of immenſe value; and returning by the Cape of Good-Hope to England, after a complete circumnavigation of the globe, was received with NATIONAL ACCLAMATION.

An event in which all Europe was deeply intereſted, and had ſome time paſt anxiouſly expected, at length took place October 20, 1740, in the demiſe of the Emperor CHARLES VI. the laſt heir-male of the Houſe of Auſtria Hapſburg. And in a few days after the Emperor expired Anne Iwanowna, Empreſs of Ruſſia, who bequeathed her crown to Iwan the infant grandſon of her elder ſiſter the Ducheſs of Mecklenburgh. But this diſpoſition not being agreeable to the Ruſſians, a revolution ſoon took place in favor of Elizabeth, youngeſt daughter of Peter the Great by the late Empreſs Catherine, who adopted the ſame general ſyſtem of policy with her predeceſſors, and governed that vaſt empire with the ſame uninterrupted ſucceſs and reputation. Notwithſtanding the famous edict ſtyled the Pragmatic Sanction, of which ſuch repeated mention has been made, and by virtue of which almoſt all the Powers of Europe had guaranteed the poſſeſſions of the Houſe of Auſtria, to the Arch-ducheſs Maria Thereſa, now aſſuming the title

of Queen of Hungary, the death of the Emperor ſeemed as a ſignal to ſet the world in arms. Frederic King of Pruſſia,—who had a few months only previous to this event acceded to the throne of his father,—to the aſtoniſhment of the Court of Vienna, advanced a dormant and antiquated claim to certain diſtricts of the Duchy of Sileſia; and in order to ſupply all deficiency of argument, he marched a formidable army into that province, and after a rapid ſucceſſion of conqueſts made his public entry into Breſlau the capital—the Queen of Hungary having rejected with diſdain the offer he made to advance a large ſum for her immediate accommodation, and aſſiſt her with all his forces againſt whatever enemies might ariſe in order to obtain her conſent to the ceſſion of the territory in queſtion. Till this period it is to be remarked that Pruſſia had ſcarcely been numbered amongſt the Powers of Europe; and had never been deemed of ſufficient conſequence to take any other than a ſubordinate, or ſecondary part, in the contentions of the Continent. It was not without long and urgent ſolicitation that the Emperor Leopold had conſented to confer the title of KING upon the Marquiſſes of Brandenburg; and, as it is ſaid, expreſsly againſt the advice and remonſtrance of Prince Eugene, who warned the Emperor that he was raiſing up a rival to himſelf; and that the acquiſition of the royal title would probably incite to future dangerous ſchemes and projects of aggrandizement*.

The

* The King of Pruſſia himſelf, with his characteriſtic frankneſs, ſays, "Frederic I. en érigeant la Pruſſe en Royaume, avoit par cette vaine grandeur mis un germe d'ambition dans ſa poſtérité qui devoit fructifier tôt ou tard." The King determined, as he tells us, on a mature conſideration of the forlorn ſituation of Auſtria, whoſe finances were miſerably deranged, whoſe armies were ruined by the late unſucceſsful war with Turkey, and which was now governed by a young Princeſs without experience, under the additional diſadvantage of a doubtful title—to aſſert what he is pleaſed to ſtyle *inconteſtable rights* to Sileſia. Though ſo chimerical did his claims appear to the

The late King of Pruſſia was a man capricious, ignorant, and brutal. The relentleſs deſpotiſm which he exerciſed over his ſubjects led him to increaſe the number, and to pay the cloſeſt attention to the diſcipline of his troops; and his inſatiable avarice prompted him to the conſtant accumulation of treaſure, gradually riſing in a long ſucceſſion of years to an immenſe amount, and procured by every ſpecies of rapine and extortion. And thus the new Monarch, who had fought for refuge from the tyrannic jealouſy of his father in the ſhades of retirement, and who had ſtrongly excited the attention of Europe, by an uncommon diſplay of talents even in that obſcure and ſequeſtered retreat, now found himſelf in a condition to undertake the boldeſt deſigns which intereſt or ambition could ſuggeſt. The Elector of Bavaria refuſed to acknowledge the title of the Queen of Hungary, alleging that the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia belonged to him, in virtue of an antient compact, as the rightful heir of the Emperor Ferdinand I. The King of Poland, as Elector of Saxony, unmindful of his obligations to the late Emperor, claimed the whole Auſtrian ſucceſſion in right of his mother, daughter of the Emperor Joſeph. And France, reſolving to embrace the favorable moment for which ſhe had long and anxiouſly waited, to abaſe the pride and annihilate the power of her antient rival, entered into engagements with the Elector of Bavaria, with a view to elevate this Prince to the Imperial throne, and to enable him, in concert with the Houſes of Brandenburg and Saxony, to ſeize and divide the Germanic dominions of the Houſe of Auſtria; the object of the confederacy being to confine the power of the Queen of Hungary

the Court of Vienna, that when, in conſequence of the military preparations actually carrying on in the Pruſſian dominions, M. Damrath, the Imperial Envoy at Berlin, warned his Court that a ſtorm was gathering which might poſſibly burſt over that province, the Council of the Queen replied, "Nous ne voulons ni ne pouvons ajouter foi aux nouvelles que vous mandez."

Oeuvres de Frederic II.

within the narrow limits of that remote kingdom. Spain alſo, deſirous of a ſhare of the ſpoils, boldly advanced her pretenſions to the Italian dominions of Auſtria: and the Queen of Spain, heireſs of the Houſe of Farneſe, a woman of daring ambition, who gloried, like Catherine of Medicis, in ſtyling herſelf the *Mother of Kings*, entertained the project of erecting theſe dominions into a Monarchy, under the title of the Kingdom of Lombardy, in favor of her youngeſt ſon the Infant Don Philip, brother to Don Carlos King of the Sicilies, who alſo became a willing party in this formidable confederacy againſt the Imperial Houſe; in the general wreck of which, the Auſtrian Netherlands were allotted to France. The treaty of Nymphenburg was concluded in the ſpring of 1741, between France and Bavaria—a powerful army under Mareſchal Maillebois marched at the ſame time into Weſtphalia, in order to over-awe the Electorate of Hanover. And the King of England, then at Hanover, thought proper to countermand the march of the Danes and Heſſians in the pay of Great Britain, who had received orders to advance to the relief of the Queen of Hungary, and to ſign a treaty of neutrality for that Electorate, as the purchaſe of which he engaged to vote for the Elector of Bavaria at the enſuing election of an Emperor; although this great conceſſion, by which the Imperial diadem was in appearance, and probability, for ever transferred from the Houſe of Auſtria to that of Bavaria, was obviouſly and utterly irreconcileable with the general policy of England, which had for a long ſeries of years conſidered the power of the Auſtrian family as the only effectual counterbalance to that of the Houſe of Bourbon.

In July 1741, the Elector of Bavaria being joined by the French forces under Mareſchal Broglio, entered the Arch-duchy of Auſtria at the head of 70,000 men, and captured the important cities of Lintz and Paſſau. But underſtanding that Vienna was ſtrongly fortified and garriſoned,

riſoned, he determined to direct his march to Bohemia; and Prague ſurrendering after a ſhort reſiſtance, the Elector made his public entry into that capital, where he was proclaimed King of Bohemia, and inaugurated with the uſual ſolemnities. Notwithſtanding this ſucceſs, the Elector has been accuſed of egregious indiſcretion, in ſuffering his attention to be diverted from the ſiege of Vienna, the conqueſt of which, excluſive of the luſtre it would have reflected upon the confederate arms, muſt have materially obſtructed the communication between the Germanic and Hungarian territories of the Queen; and in its conſequences would probably have proved deciſive. Nothing however had as yet interrupted the tide of his proſperity.

The Diet of the Empire being convened at Francfort on the Maine, the Elector was unanimouſly choſen Emperor of the Romans, February 1742, by the name of Charles VII. and a ſubſidy of fifty Roman months granted him to defray the expences of the war. Reduced to the loweſt external ebb of misfortune, Maria Thereſa retired to the mountainous receſſes of Hungary, and, aſſembling the States of that kingdom at Preſburg, made in perſon an eloquent and affecting ſpeech*, in which ſhe declared "that ſhe placed her ſole reliance on their courage, fidelity, and attachment: and holding up to their view the infant Prince whom ſhe bore in her arms, conjured them to protect and defend the ſacred depoſit which ſhe entruſted to their care, and to ſhew in this criſis of danger, by the generous ardor of their loyalty, the affection and reverence which they entertained for the blood of their antient Monarchs." Moved by this uncommon ſpectacle of Imperial beauty in diſtreſs, and fired by the charms of her perſon no leſs than the energy of her ſupplication; this rude but gallant people, drawing ſuddenly

* In the Latin tongue, which is familiar to the Poliſh and Hungarian nobility.

their ſabres, replied with loud acclamations, "MORIAMUR PRO REGE NOSTRO MARIA THERESA!" In conſequence of the powerful aid ſhe derived from the zeal of her Hungarian ſubjects, affairs ſoon began to wear a more favorable aſpect.

Early in the ſpring 1742, the Auſtrian General Count Khevenhuller, whoſe military talents entitle him to rank with the greateſt commanders, forcing the paſſes of Scardingen, marched into the Electorate of Bavaria, ravaged the whole country, and made himſelf maſter of Munich the capital. Prince Charles of Lorraine, who had married the Arch-ducheſs Marianne, ſiſter to the Queen of Hungary, entered Sileſia at the head of 50,000 men, in order to oppoſe the progreſs of the Pruſſian arms. After two fierce encounters at Molwitz and Czaſlaw, in both of which the Pruſſians had the advantage, a peace was concluded through the mediation of England at Breſlau (June 1742); by which the entire province of Sileſia, the moſt fertile, rich, and populous, in the whole extent of the Auſtrian dominions, was ceded to Pruſſia. Such was the exultation of his Pruſſian Majeſty at the concluſion of this treaty, the advantages of which ſo far exceeded his moſt ſanguine hopes and utmoſt demands at the commencement of the war, that he is ſaid to have declared himſelf willing to ſacrifice his right hand, to inſure the perpetual and faithful obſervance of it*.

In September following an accommodation alſo took place with Saxony, at the expence of ſome inconſiderable diſtricts ceded to the King of Poland. The Prince of

* The Queen of Hungary, little aware of the extent of the combination againſt her, had not only rejected with haughtineſs the propoſals of the King of Pruſſia, but had formed a project, as was univerſally believed, with the approbation of the Court of London, for a partition of his dominions; in which the Duchy of Magdeburg was allotted to the King of England—the knowledge of which induced his Pruſſian Majeſty to conclude that alliance with France, by which the very exiſtence of the Houſe of Auſtria ſeemed at one time to be endangered.

Lorraine,

Lorraine, now advancing into Bohemia, found that the French forces, under the Mareſchals Broglio and Belleiſle, had abandoned their conqueſts on being themſelves abandoned by their allies, and had now retired under the cannon of Prague, which was immediately inveſted by the Auſtrians: and the ſiege being prolonged for many months, the French garriſon was reduced to difficulties, which the moſt invincible reſolution only could have ſuſtained. The Auſtrians, ſuppoſing that they muſt finally ſurrender at diſcretion, refuſed to liſten to terms of capitulation: but, by an extraordinary effort of military ſkill and courage, the French Generals forced a paſſage through the Auſtrian army, and in the depth of winter made their retreat good to Alſace; eluding, by the ſecrecy and rapidity of their marches, all attempts to intercept them. The Emperor, being reduced in his turn to the extremity of diſtreſs, retired to Francfort, where he chiefly reſided during the ſhort and wretched remainder of his life, in a ſtate of exile and indigence. In this deſtitute and forlorn ſituation, however, this Prince thought fit to iſſue a commiſſorial decree againſt the Queen of Hungary, couched in terms which the pride and grandeur of Aurelian in the midſt of his triumphs over Zenobia ſcarcely had exceeded *. Referring to a former decree addreſſed to the Imperial Diet aſſembled at Francfort, and complaining of the inſult and outrage offered to the whole ROMAN EMPIRE, by the *Grand Ducheſs of Tuſcany*, in her refuſal to acknowledge his dignity and the validity of his election, he ſays, "that he had moſt graciouſly required of that Aſſembly with

* AURELIANUS Imperator Romanæ Orbis ZENOBIÆ.

Spontè facere debuiſtis id quod meis literis nunc jubetur. Deditionem præcipio impunitate vitæ propoſita, ita ut illic, Zenobia, cum tuis agas vitam ubi te ex Senatûs ampliſſimi ſententia collocavero. Gemmas, argentum, aurum, ſericum, equos, camelos in ærarium Romanum conferas. Palmyrenis jus ſuum ſervabitur.

moſt

moſt reſplendent moderation, how and after what manner the moſt high Imperial dignity might be ſuſtained—and declaring, from the fulneſs of Imperial power, inadmiſſible and null, and utterly cancelling and rendering void the two proteſtations of the Court of Vienna, of September in the preceding and July in the preſent year, as injurious in the higheſt degree to the majeſty and ſupreme dignity of the EMPEROR OF THE ROMANS and the grandeur of the whole ROMAN EMPIRE."

On the ſide of Italy, the Spaniards, in order to carry their magnificent projects into effect, had aſſembled, in conjunction with the Neapolitans, an army of 60,000 men at Rimini, A. D. 1742, under the command of the Duc de Montemar, afterwards ſucceeded by Count de Gages, who attempted in vain to penetrate into Tuſcany. And the King of Sardinia, who dreaded with reaſon the aggrandizement of the Houſe of Bourbon in Lombardy, having declared in favor of the Houſe of Auſtria, and joined Count Traun the Auſtrian General in the Parmeſan; another Spaniſh army, under the Infant Don Philip in perſon, entered Savoy *, and took poſſeſſion of Chamberri; and though his Sardinian Majeſty returned to the defence of his own dominions at the firſt notice of this attack, he could not prevent the Spaniards from taking up their winter-quarters in Savoy. In the courſe of this campaign, the army under Count Gages was extremely weakened by the defection of the Neapolitan troops, who were recalled by a mandate of the King of Naples, iſſued in conſequence of the unexpected and unwelcome appearance of an Engliſh ſquadron in the Bay of Naples, detached by Admiral Matthews, the Britiſh Commander in the Mediterranean, with the peremptory denunciation of an immediate bombardment of the

* "Tell your maſter (ſaid the Queen of Spain to the Sardinian Ambaſſador on his departure from Madrid) that my ſon ſhall be a King in ſpite of all his efforts to prevent it."

city

city of Naples, if his Neapolitan Majeſty refuſed to ſign an explicit declaration of neutrality. The enſuing campaign in Italy did not at all advance the progreſs of the Spaniards. Count Gages having, contrary to his better judgment, attacked the combined army of Auſtrians and Piedmonteſe under the command of the brave and experienced Mareſchal Traun at Campo-Santo *, was obliged to retreat with conſiderable loſs, after an engagement which commenced at ſun-riſe, and which continued till ſeven at night by the light of the moon. The Mareſchal being deſtined to yet more urgent and important ſervices in Germany, reſigned his command, September 1743, to Prince Lobkowitz. In Savoy the Infant Don Philip, reinforced by 20,000 French auxiliaries, attacked the Piedmonteſe lines at Chateau Dauphine—but was repulſed in repeated attacks with much damage; upon which the French retired into Dauphiné, and the Spaniards took refuge in their winter-quarters. In order to exhibit a connected view of this Italian war, which bears a very remote relation to the hiſtory of Great Britain, and to which it will not be neceſſary to revert, it may be proper to relate, in a few words, the principal events of the ſucceeding campaigns.

The King of Naples, renouncing his compulſory profeſſion of neutrality, re-aſſembled his army in the ſummer of 1744, and openly joined Count de Gages. Prince Lobkowitz the Auſtrian General, marching through the Papal territories, advanced to the frontiers of Naples; and publiſhed, though with little effect, a manifeſto to exhort the Neapolitans to ſhake off the Spaniſh yoke, and return to the dominion of the Houſe of Auſtria.

* This battle was raſhly and unexpectedly fought, February 3. 1743; Count de Gages receiving poſitive orders from the Court of Madrid, to attack the enemy in three days after the arrival of the courier, or to reſign his command to Count Mariani.

Count

Count Brown being ſecretly detached by the Auſtrian Commander to attack the town of Velletri, where the King of Naples had eſtabliſhed his quarters in a ſtate of perfect apparent ſecurity, ſo ſucceſsfully executed his commiſſion, that his Neapolitan Majeſty eſcaped in the darkneſs of the night, through a poſtern, with great difficulty. But Count de Gages, repairing to the poſt in perſon, with great preſence of mind rallied the troops, and at length compelled the Auſtrian General to ſound a retreat. The Imperial army having ſuffered much from the exceſſive heats of the ſummer, and the conſequent epidemical diſeaſes of an unaccuſtomed climate, decamped in November, in order to take up their winter-quarters in Parma. Scarcely had the Auſtrian Commander paſſed the Tiber, and loſt ſight of the walls of Rome, but his antagoniſt Count de Gages, accompanied by his Neapolitan Majeſty, entered that city—but finding the bridges broken down, they deſiſted from the purſuit; and the Holy Father received both theſe contending powers with the ſame external demonſtrations of joy and affection.

In Savoy the Infant Don Philip, being joined by his allies the French, attacked the King of Sardinia, though ſtrongly entrenched amidſt the mountains of Villa-Franca; and after an obſtinate engagement, this Monarch, being overpowered by numbers, was obliged to abandon his poſts, and to embark on board the Britiſh ſquadron then cruizing off the coaſt, which tranſported him and his troops to Vado. Don Philip now prepared to penetrate through the territories of Genoa to the Milaneſe; but the Britiſh Commander, Admiral Matthews, declared that the King of England would conſider the permiſſion of the republic as a violation of their neutrality. The Spaniards therefore defiled towards Piedmont, and forced the ſtrong poſt of Chateau-Dauphine, defended by the King of Sardinia in perſon, who now retreated to Saluces.

ces in order to cover his capital, while the combined army inveſted the ſtrong and important fortreſs of Coni. Had this enterpriſe ſucceeded, the Sardinian Monarch would have been reduced to a very critical ſituation: but Baron Leutrum the Governor made ſo gallant a defence, that the Infant and the Prince of Conti, who commanded the French army, were compelled to raiſe the ſiege at the approach of winter, and to retire with great precipitation to the frontiers of France.

The campaign of 1745 proved ſtill more diſaſtrous and alarming: for Count de Gages, at the head of the Spaniſh and Neapolitan forces, paſſed the Appenines, and directing his march through the territories of Genoa, which—in conſequence of provocations no patience could endure—had now joined the confederacy, accompliſhed a junction with the army of the Infant Don Philip; and the Auſtrians retiring before them, the Milaneſe, Parma, and Placentia, ſubmitted to the dominion of Spain. All Piedmont on both ſides the Po was likewiſe reduced, and Turin itſelf menaced with a ſiege; yet the King of Sardinia adhered with unſhaken fidelity to his engagements, and rejected with heroic firmneſs all propoſals of a ſeparate accommodation.

In the memorable march of Count Gages, whoſe paſſage over the Appenines was compared by the Italians to that of Hannibal over the Alps; nothing, as the hiſtorian Buonamici informs us, appeared ſo ſurpriſing as the plenty which the army of that General found, when ſinking under the preſſure of diſtreſs, at their entrance into the territories of the republic of Lucca, though in point of natural fertility far inferior to the countries they had traverſed. The roads from all the ſurrounding villages were crowded with carriages, conveying forage and proviſions into the camp, at a ſeaſon of the year when it might have been imagined that the public ſtores were exhauſted. And it was ſeen and felt with irreſiſtible conviction, that the miſery

misery or happiness of the subject arises not from the nature of the soil, but of the government*.

In the ensuing year, 1746, fortune, ever capricious and inconstant, began once more to smile upon this Prince, when apparently reduced to the very verge of ruin. The Court of Vienna being no longer pressed on the side of Germany, sent powerful reinforcements into Italy, and the coffers of his Sardinian Majesty being amply replenished with British subsidies, he was enabled to take the field with redoubled force. Early in the spring Baron Leutrum, the Piedmontese General, recovered Aste, Alessandria, and Casal; Mareschal Maillebois, who now commanded the French armies, retiring into the Genoese territories. On the other side, Count de Gages and Don Philip were compelled to abandon Milan, Pavia, and Parma, and retreat to Placentia, where, in the month of June, they were joined by Mareschal Maillebois. In consequence of this junction, the Infant, finding himself at the head of 50,000 men, determined to attack the Austrians in their camp at San Lazaro, but met with a most severe repulse; and the Austrians pursuing their victory, in their turn attacked the enemy, August 10, near the town of Tortona, on the southern banks of the Po, the passage of which the combined armies of French and Spaniards effected not without great difficulty and loss. The Infant was, in consequence of this second defeat, compelled to abandon the city of Placentia, containing immense magazines of ammunition and military stores; and retreating towards Genoa, after a short interval

* The difference between the general state and condition of the people under despotic and republican governments, however modified, forces itself upon the observation. "I know very well," says a writer of discernment, "that the republics of Genoa and Venice are not in general allowed to be free States. M. Montesquieu has demonstrated, that they are not free. But there is undoubtedly some excellence in them which has escaped this wise man, for the contrast betwen these and the neighboring States is very remarkable."

quitted

quitted the territories of the republic, and took the route of Provence. Genoa was now compelled to ſurrender to the Auſtrians, who exerciſed the rights of conqueſt with ſuch mercileſs rigor, that the Genoeſe flew to arms, and in a ſhort time, with a courage worthy of their antient fame, totally expelled their oppreſſors. Whilſt the Imperial Generals kept poſſeſſion of Genoa, the bank of St. George was exhauſted by the enormous contributions levied by the Auſtrians, who boaſted that the wealth of this proud city was theirs, and that Genoa would in a ſhort time be deluged in blood. And General Botta, the Auſtrian Commander, is ſaid to have told the Genoeſe deputies, who pathetically pleaded for the mitigation of their ſufferings, that he would leave them nothing except their eyes, to behold the deſtruction of their country, and to weep over its ruins.

In April 1747, the French, under Mareſchal Belleiſle, once more croſſed the Var, and took poſſeſſion of Nice, Montalban, Villa-Franca, and Ventimiglia, almoſt without reſiſtance, the Auſtrians and Piedmonteſe being employed in an attempt to recover the city of Genoa. On ſummoning the citizens to ſurrender, they replied with that ſpirit which almoſt invariably animates and pervades all claſſes of men living under a republican form of government, "that they would defend their liberty with the laſt drop of their blood, and would rather be buried in the ruins of their capital, than ſubmit to the *clemency* of the Court of Vienna." Count Schuylenburg, the Auſtrian Commander, who conducted the operations of the ſiege with great ſkill and vigor, was at length reduced reluctantly to liſten to the remonſtrances of the King of Sardinia, who repreſented to him the neceſſity of abandoning his enterprize in order to cover Piedmont and Lombardy from the efforts of the Mareſchal de Belleiſle. But the Chevalier de Belleiſle, brother to the Mareſchal, attempting to force the important paſs of Exiles, was repulſed

repulſed with prodigious ſlaughter; and ſeizing a pair of colors, with a reſolution, on the renewal of the attack, to plant them with his own hand upon the ramparts, he was ſhot dead with a muſquet ball. The troops immediately gave way in the utmoſt confuſion, and the Mareſchal, informed of this diſaſter, retreated back to the Var, and his Sardinian Majeſty menaced Dauphiné with an invaſion in his turn; but exceſſive rains prevented the execution of his deſign.

The ſucceeding campaign (A. D. 1748), which was the laſt of the war, was diſtinguiſhed by no very material tranſaction; the near proſpect of peace rendering it equally unadviſable on both ſides to riſque any hazardous enterprize. And the Infant Don Philip was by one of the articles of the Treaty put into poſſeſſion of Parma, Placentia, and Guaſtalla—the King of Sardinia receiving, in conformity to a previous agreement with the Queen of Hungary, and as a juſt remuneration for the fidelity and attachment he had diſcovered to the intereſts, and the courage he had diſplayed in the defence of the Houſe of Auſtria, ſome contiguous diſtricts of Novara and the Milaneſe. As ſoon as certain intelligence had arrived, that the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was ſigned, the Britiſh Admiral acquainted the Senate of Genoa of that event, in a meſſage delivered by one of his captains, who had at the ſame time expreſs orders to aſſure the republic how great was the admiration he entertained of the fortitude and valor diſplayed by them in the defence of their liberties. "Such, ſays the Italian hiſtorian, is the magnanimity of the Britiſh nation*."

It is now high time to advert to the ſituation of Great Britain, and to trace the mazes of that policy by which ſhe became a principal in this deſtructive war, which, had ſhe conſulted her proper intereſts, would ſcarcely have

* Buonamici's Commentaries, Book IV.

involved

involved her as an auxiliary. The Oppoſition exulted much in the royal declaration of war againſt Spain, which they affirmed to be an echo of their reaſonings and arguments againſt the Convention; although the truths it contained were at that time poſitively denied by the Miniſter and his adherents—and ſince that time not one event had happened which was not by his opponents previouſly foretold.

The ſeſſion which commenced November 1739, cloſed April 29, 1740, without producing any remarkable event. The Penſion Bill was, according to almoſt annual cuſtom, paſſed by the Commons and rejected by the Lords. But the Place Bill, which was again introduced with many judicious modifications and numerous exceptions, was thrown out by a very ſmall majority of the Commons in a very full Houſe, the numbers being 222 to 206. As it was clearly perceived that the Court was forced into the preſent conteſt againſt Spain, the great popularity of the war did not at all diminiſh, or rather it tended to heighten, the unpopularity of the Miniſter. After the capture of Porto-Bello, and the ill-conducted attempt on Carthagena, the ſpirit of enterprize ſeemed no more—the fleets of Spain ſailed unmoleſted from their harbors, though Britiſh ſquadrons were ſtationed off the Spaniſh coaſts, for the profeſſed purpoſe of intercepting them. Commerce was interrupted by the numbers of ſeamen preſſed into the ſervice of Government—and ſtill more by the incredible number of prizes taken by the Spaniſh privateers. The diſcontents of the merchants were unneceſſarily inflamed by the raſh and paſſionate anſwer of Sir Charles Wager, who, when a memorial was preſented to him as firſt Lord of the Admiralty, for protection and redreſs,—replied, "It is your own war, and you muſt take it for your pains." The harbor and fortifications of Dunkirk were repaired by order of the French King, in open violation of the treaty of Utrecht. A French fleet had ſailed

ſailed in company with the Spaniards to the Weſt Indies, for the avowed purpoſe of protecting the Spaniſh commerce, and ſerious apprehenſions were entertained for the ſafety of Jamaica.

When the Parliament was convened in November 1740, the nation, throughout all the different ranks and deſcriptions of citizens, exhibited evident and alarming ſymptoms of diſcontent. Eager to embrace the favorable moment, Mr. Sandys, one of the leaders of Oppoſition, ſoon after the commencement of the ſeſſion, notified to Sir Robert Walpole in the Houſe of Commons, his intention on the Friday following to bring forward a charge againſt him. At this unexpected intimation, the Miniſter ſeemed at firſt ſomewhat diſconcerted and ſurpriſed: but recovering himſelf, after a ſhort pauſe, replied, "that as he was conſcious of no crime, he had no doubt of being able to make a proper defence—and laying his hand with emotion on his breaſt, he added, with Roman dignity,

——— "Hic murus aheneus eſto,
Nil conſcire ſibi, nullâ palleſcere culpâ*."

On the day appointed, Mr. Sandys accordingly, at the cloſe of a long ſpeech, in which he recapitulated all the political delinquencies, real or pretended, of the Miniſter, moved, "that an humble addreſs ſhould be preſented to the King, beſeeching his Majeſty that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to remove the Right Honorable Sir Robert Walpole, firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, &c., from his Majeſty's preſence and counſels for ever." The motion was ably ſuſtained by the members in oppoſition, particularly by Mr. Pulteney, who took a very ſevere retroſpective view of the conduct of the Miniſter, from the commencement of his adminiſtration. "By the

* "Be this my brazen bulwark of defence,
Still to preſerve a conſcious innocence." FRANCIS.

treaty

treaty of Seville, ſaid this eloquent ſpeaker, we were very nearly driven to the perilous extremity of entering into a war with the Emperor, as the direct conſequence of our conjunction with France and Spain. But the nation took the alarm, and the Miniſter was obliged to conſult his ſafety; and this impelled him to avert the danger by a precipitate unconditional guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction. But though, in conſequence of this raſh meaſure, and this alone, the Emperor conſented to the introduction of Spaniſh troops into the Duchies of Parma and Placentia, Spain performed nothing on her part of what ſhe had engaged. On the contrary, the depredations of that nation on our Weſt India commerce daily increaſed; and thus affairs ſtood when France, in alliance with Spain and Sardinia, thought fit to attack the Emperor in 1733, with an avowed deſign to ſtrip him of all his dominions in Italy. Of this attack we remained idle, though not unexpenſive, ſpectators, till we ſaw on the one hand Naples, and even Sicily, procured for him by England at the price of a war with Spain, wreſted from the Emperor; and on the other, the Duchy of Lorraine added to the Monarchy of France. On the firſt acceſſion of the Miniſter to the ſole direction of public affairs, there was a fair proſpect, Mr. Pulteney ſaid, of diſcharging, within a reaſonable time, every ſhilling of the public debt —but this would have diminiſhed the Miniſter's fund for corruption, and it was therefore by all means to be prevented; and the public charge was to be yearly increaſed, in order to oblige us to the alternative of applying the produce of the Sinking Fund to the current ſervice, or of contracting a new debt, equal to that which was paid off. The expences of the civil government were alſo ſo prodigiouſly enhanced, that a demand of 500,000l. was made in the year 1725, to pay the debts of the Civil Liſt, though the like ſum had been granted for the ſame purpoſe but four years before. Upon his preſent Majeſty's ac-

ceſſion, an addition of 100,000l. was made to the Civil Liſt, beſides 115,000l. for making good a pretended deficiency in that revenue. But what furniſhed the moſt ſucceſsful pretext for increaſing the public burdens, was the famous TREATY of HANOVER, profeſſedly concluded for preventing the dangers with which Europe was threatened from the overgrown power of the Houſe of Auſtria. Had the danger alledged been *real*, this nation ought to have been the laſt, becauſe it had certainly the leaſt to fear. But the fact was, that the Dutch, who lay moſt expoſed, were ſo little apprehenſive of danger, that it was not without much ſolicitation, and after conſiderable delay, that they could be perſuaded to accede to this treaty. And France, to whom the alliance of Spain and the Emperor might reaſonably be ſuppoſed to appear formidable, neither choſe to incur any expence, nor diſcovered any ſolicitude to aſſiſt us when actually attacked by Spain in conſequence of this treaty; whereas WE took 12,000 Heſſians into our pay; granted ſubſidies to the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, and, what was moſt extraordinary, to the Duke of Wolfenbuttle, ſix months after the preliminaries of peace with Spain and the Emperor were ſigned: and the Heſſians were continued in pay for ſeveral years. When a ſcheme was afterwards offered by a patriotic Member of this Houſe—Sir John Barnard—for reducing the intereſt payable upon all our public funds; it is unneceſſary to ſay by whom, and by what means, that ſcheme was defeated—and conſidering how practicable a plan it was at that time, we muſt conclude that the Miniſter who oppoſed it could have no deſign that our debts ſhould be ever paid, or our taxes diminiſhed."

On this trying occaſion, Sir Robert Walpole nevertheleſs defended himſelf with ſuch vigor and ability, that the motion of Mr. Sandys was finally rejected by a very great majority. "The ſucceſſive meaſures of his adminiſtration,

tion, the Miniſter alledged, were adapted to the different exigencies of the times—they had received the repeated and unequivocal ſanction of ſucceſſive Parliaments—the ſole object of that ſyſtem of policy by which his public conduct had been regulated, was to preſerve the tranquillity of Europe, which was to be effected only by maintaining the balance of Europe.—The charge of corruption, ſo generally brought, the Miniſter as generally denied—and, to the amazement and confuſion of his friends, he poſitively challenged his accuſer to produce one ſpecific inſtance of this nature in confirmation of his accuſation. In the courſe of his ſpeech he animadverted with great ſpirit upon the indiſcriminate uſe of the term *patriotiſm*. A Patriot, Sir! ſaid he, addreſſing the chair—I venerate the name. But then, it is the real, and not the pretended Patriot, who is the object of my reverence. In theſe times, Sir, Patriots ſpring up like muſhrooms—I could raiſe twenty of them in a night—A Miniſter has nothing more to do, than to refuſe compliance with an unjuſt or unreaſonable demand, and up ſtarts a Patriot. But, Sir, the unprincipled efforts of ſuch Patriots I alike diſdain and deteſt." After a ſhort interval, a motion to the ſame purport with that of Mr. Sandys, was made in the Houſe of Peers by Lord Carteret and ſupported by the Duke of Argyle, and the Lords Gower, Bathurſt, and Cheſterfield. It was negatived, but thirty Peers entered their proteſt; and the credit and authority of the Miniſter were ſenſibly impaired by theſe repeated attacks.

In April 1741, the King delivered in perſon a ſpeech to both Houſes of Parliament, informing them that the Queen of Hungary had made a requiſition of aſſiſtance from England, agreeable to the tenor of the ſubſiſting treaties—that he had ordered the Daniſh and Heſſian auxiliaries to be in readineſs to march for that purpoſe—that in this complicated and uncertain ſtate of affairs, it might become neceſſary for him to incur extraordinary expences

for maintaining inviolate the Pragmatic Sanction, for which he truſted they would provide. The Commons aſſured the King in their addreſs "that they entirely approved of the meaſures already purſued, and that they would enable him effectually to ſupport his engagements with the Queen of Hungary." Two hundred thouſand pounds were accordingly voted upon the motion of the Miniſter, as a parliamentary grant or gratuity to that Princeſs, and 300,000l. more to his Majeſty, to be employed at his diſcretion, in the manner moſt conducive to her ſervice; ſeventy thouſand men had been before voted for the army and navy, and the accuſtomed ſubſidies granted to Denmark and Heſſe Caſſel. "HONEST SHIPPEN *" only ventured to oppoſe this wild and wanton waſte of the public money. "He proteſted, on this as on all other occaſions, againſt any interpoſition in the affairs of Germany. He proteſted againſt that clauſe of the addreſs, by which the Houſe engaged to defend his Majeſty's foreign dominions from inſult, or attack, as utterly inconſiſtent with the Act of Settlement—declaring, that if the repeated and ſhameful evaſions of that Act, or rather the open violations of it, could have been foreſeen, they would probably have for ever precluded from the ſucceſſion of that illuſtrious family, to which the nation owed ſuch NUMBERLESS BLESSINGS, SUCH CONTINUED FELICITY." On the 25th of April 1741, the ſeſſion cloſed, and the King took his leave of this Parliament in the proſpect of its diſſolution, with many expreſſions of gratitude and ſatisfaction.

The NEW PARLIAMENT being convened December 1, 1741, the King in his ſpeech expreſſed his hope and expectation, that the two Houſes would confirm the reſolutions formed by their predeceſſors for the ſupport of the

* "I love to pour out all myſelf, as plain
As HONEST SHIPPEN, or downright Montagne." POPE.

Pragma-

Pragmatic Sanction, the preſervation of the balance of power, the liberties of Europe, and the ſecurity of his dominions. An addreſs of thanks and approbation being moved as uſual, a clauſe was propoſed to intreat his Majeſty not to engage theſe kingdoms in a war for the preſervation of his foreign dominions. In vindication of which, Mr. Shippen aroſe and declared, 'that he was neither afraid nor aſhamed to affirm that thirty years had made no change in any of his political opinions. He ſaid that he was grown old in the Houſe of Commons, and had lived to ſee his conjectures and predictions ripened into knowledge. I may, ſaid he, perhaps fall under the cenſure of the Houſe, and be once more treated as a criminal, for aſſerting what they who puniſh me cannot deny—that Hanoverian maxims are inconſiſtent with the intereſt and happineſs of this nation—that the wiſe policy of the Act of Settlement ought to be adhered to; and that England ought not to be endangered, in order that the King's foreign dominions may be ſecured."—"Are we, exclaimed with energy another Member *, in reference to the ſame queſtion, to ſtand up ſingle in the defence of the Pragmatic Sanction? to fight for ever the quarrels of others? and live in perpetual war, that our neighbors may enjoy the advantages of peace?" The addreſs, as it was originally moved, was however preſented to the King, the Oppoſition not deeming it a fit opportunity to make trial of their ſtrength. But a petition from the Electors of Weſtminſter coming after a ſhort interval under the cognizance of the Houſe, the election of the ſitting Members, who were the Court candidates, was declared void by a majority of four voices; and the High Bailiff was committed to cuſtody. Other controverted elections being likewiſe decided to the diſadvantage of the Court, and againſt its utmoſt exertions; Sir Robert Walpole became ſenſible that his political career haſtened to its

* Mr. Viner.

termination.

termination. Anxious however to make one effort more to retain that authority which he had ſo long exerciſed almoſt without control, and which he could not now relinquiſh without danger; he cauſed a royal meſſage to be ſent to the Prince of Wales, importing that if his Royal Highneſs would accede to terms with his Majeſty, his revenue ſhould be immediately raiſed to 100,000l. per annum;—200,000l. ſhould be advanced for the payment of his debts; he and his friends ſhould be taken into favor, and a ſuitable proviſion made for all his followers. But the Prince poſitively declared, "that he would accept of no ſuch conditions, or of any conditions, while public affairs continued under the direction of Sir Robert Walpole—whom he regarded as the bar which ſeparated his Majeſty from the affections of his people—as the grand author of the national loſſes, diſgraces, and grievances, at home and abroad." Repulſed in this attempt, the Miniſter, now in imminent danger of an impeachment, endeavored in vain to detach from their political connection ſome of the leaders of the oppoſite party: and finding himſelf on the next diviſion again left in a minority, he declared he would never more enter the walls of that Houſe. On the enſuing day, February 3, 1742, the King adjourned both Houſes of Parliament to the 18th, and immediately upon this adjournment, Sir Robert Walpole was created Earl of Orford, and reſigned all his employments. Various intrigues and negotiations were carried on during this receſs; and it ſoon appeared that a fatal diviſion had taken place among the Patriots, and that divers of them who had made the loudeſt profeſſions of honor and virtue, who had repeatedly menaced the Miniſter with clamors of inquiry and denunciations of vengeance, and who had boaſted that no art could diſſolve the cement by which they were united, had ſecretly acceded to an inſidious and diſgraceful accommodation with the Court, of which the impunity of the late Miniſter

was

was underſtood to be a fundamental article. The Duke of Newcaſtle, and Mr. Pelham, with their adherents, were allowed to retain their places. The Earl of Wilmington ſucceeded Sir Robert Walpole, as firſt Lord Commiſſioner of the Treaſury Mr. Sandys was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord Carteret took the Seals, as Secretary of State for the foreign department, and was regarded as chief Miniſter; and Mr. Pulteney, who refuſed to accept any office of reſponſibility, was ſworn anew of the Privy Counſel, and was ſoon afterwards created Earl of Bath—but though he had flattered himſelf with the idea of guiding unſeen the reins of government, he was never admitted to the leaſt ſhare of royal confidence, and remained the victim of his own treachery—"a ſolitary monument of blaſted ambition." The nation ſaw with aſtoniſhment and indignation, in this coalition of parties, a change, not of meaſures but of men; they ſaw the old ſyſtem not only adopted, but confirmed and ſtrengthened; they ſaw the ſame influence in Parliament exerted for the ſame purpoſes, and in the tranſports of their reſentment the new Miniſters were branded as apoſtates and betrayers of their country; and patriotiſm was ridiculed and exploded as an illuſive and empty name *. Soon after the new Miniſtry had entered

* The Duke of Argyle, who had, on the diſmiſſion of Sir Robert Walpole, accepted the command of the royal regiment of horſe, and maſter-generalſhip of the ordnance, on being appriſed of the political colluſion which had been practiſed, in a very ſhort time, in the utmoſt reſentment, threw up his places.

At or about this period an ODE was addreſſed by the celebrated AKENSIDE, the votary of Apollo in his twofold capacity—*per me concordant carmina, medicina meum eſt*—to Mr. Pulteney, under the name of CURIO, containing very bitter and poignant reflections on his political apoſtacy. The following ſtanzas Indignation has exalted into poetry:

"At length in view the glorious end appear'd,
We ſaw thy ſpirit through the ſenate reign;

upon

upon their functions, the PENSION BILL, which had been formerly the darling object of the Patriots, was revived and passed by the Commons, but once more received sentence of condemnation from the Lords; LORD CARTERET HIMSELF GIVING HIS VOTE AGAINST IT. A motion made for leave to bring in a Bill to repeal the Septennial Act was vehemently opposed by Mr. PULTENEY and Mr. SANDYS, and the question passed in the negative. The Place Bill, now brought forward by Mr. Lyttelton, met with the same fate. The motion for an inquiry into the conduct of Robert Earl of Orford, during the twenty years of his administration, was also rejected; but the motion being renewed, and limited to the last ten years, it was with great difficulty carried against the Court: but a subsidiary Bill, for indemnifying those who should be summoned to give evidence against that Nobleman, was rejected, after it had passed the Commons, through the opposition of Lord Carteret: so that the inquiry proved, as it was no doubt intended to prove, finally abortive. Two reports, however, were actually presented by the Committee of inquiry to the House, by which,

And Freedom's friends thy instant omen heard
Of laws, for which their fathers bled in vain:—
O Alfred, father of the English name,
O valiant Edward, first in civil fame,
O William, height of public virtue pure,
Bend from your radiant seats a joyful eye,
Behold the sum of all your labors nigh,
Your plans of law complete, your ends of rule secure.

"'Twas then, O shame! O soul from faith estrang'd,
O Albion, oft to flatt'ring vows a prey;
'Twas then—thy thought what sudden frenzy chang'd?
What rushing palsy took thy strength away?
Is this the man in Freedom's cause approv'd?
The man so great, so honor'd, so belov'd?
Whom the dead envied, and the living bless'd?
This patient slave by tinsel bonds allur'd?
This wretched suitor for a boon abjur'd?
Whom those that fear'd him scorn, that trusted him detest?"

amongst

amongſt other intereſting particulars, it appears on record, that, excluſive of all the open and avowed means of influence, the enormous ſum of one million four hundred and fifty-three thouſand pounds had been expended during the laſt ten years for SECRET SERVICE. Paxton, Solicitor to the Treaſury, refuſing to anſwer interrogatories put to him by the Committee, was committed to cloſe cuſtody, but ſtill perſiſted in his contumacy, and Scroope, Secretary to the Treaſury, through whoſe hands vaſt ſums had paſſed, declared, that he could not IN CONSCIENCE, after conſulting the ableſt lawyers and divines, and laying his caſe before his Majeſty, to whom alone he thought himſelf reſponſible, diſcover in what manner this money had been expended, or to what purpoſes appropriated. And the Committee ſtate in their reports, as a ſubject of moſt ſerious complaint, that the very magnitude and extent of the evil are become the means of ſcreening it from detection and puniſhment. Amongſt thoſe whoſe eloquence enforced a reluctant adoption of the motion of inquiry, no one more diſtinguiſhed himſelf than Mr. Pitt, a young man of extraordinary talents, who had riſen during the few years he had ſat in the Houſe of Commons into very high reputation. In reply to the pretext of danger in the State from this inveſtigation, he declared, "that he was ſo far from apprehending danger from this inquiry, that he firmly believed the nation could only be injured by a long neglect of ſuch examinations. Is it, ſaid he, unbecoming the wiſdom and dignity of this aſſembly, to inquire to what cauſes and to what miſconduct it is to be imputed, that we are neither able to acquire the laurels of war, nor to enjoy the bleſſings of peace? that, during the long continuance of the national tranquillity, our debts have not been diminiſhed from that ſtate to which they were raiſed by fighting at our own expence the general quarrel of mankind? why the ſinking fund, that inviola-

ble

ble depoſit, has been annually diverted from its appropriated purpoſes? I fear not to declare, that I expect, in conſequence of ſuch inquiry, to find, that our treaſure has been exhauſted, not to humble our enemies, or to obviate domeſtic inſurrections—not to ſupport our allies, or to ſuppreſs our factions—but for purpoſes which no man who loves his country can think of without indignation—the purchaſe of votes, the bribing of boroughs, the enriching of hirelings, the multiplying of dependents, the corruption of ſenates. If thoſe to whom the adminiſtration of affairs has been for twenty years confided, have betrayed their truſt—if they have invaded the public rights with the public treaſure, and employed the power committed to them by their country only to enſlave it, who will not acknowledge that a ſacrifice to juſtice is called for—that they ought to be ſet as land-marks to poſterity, to warn thoſe who ſhall hereafter launch on the ocean of power, not to be too confident of an ever-proſperous gale, but to remember that there are rocks on which whoever ruſhes muſt inevitably periſh *?"

In forming a juſt eſtimate of the political character of Sir Robert Walpole, who, for more than twenty years, governed theſe kingdoms with diſtinguiſhed reputation and ability, we ſhall find ample ground both for applauſe and cenſure. Regarding him in the moſt favorable point of view, we are compelled to acknowledge that, under the auſpices of this Miniſter, juſtice was equitably and impartially adminiſtered; the prerogative of the Monarch was invariably reſtrained within the ſtrict limits of the law; commerce was, by many wiſe laws, encou-

* A bill appointing Commiſſioners, ſeven in number, for taking, examining, and ſtating, the public accounts of the kingdom, paſſed with little oppoſition; but, on the ballot, the courtiers exerted themſelves ſo ſucceſsfully, that the numbers were decidedly in favor of the court liſt; upon which the patriots, in ſullen reſentment, ſuffered the bill, after being reported, to be finally thrown out.

raged

raged and extended; the riches of the nation rapidly increaſed; and the rights and liberties of the people were maintained inviolate. But, if we contemplate the interior policy of his adminiſtration, we perceive, it, however fair in appearance, *rotten at the core*, tainted and *ſicklied o'er* with the cadaverous hue of corruption; and threatening, in its progreſs, to undermine all public virtue, and to extinguiſh every ſpark of public ſpirit. Compelled, in order to ſecure the favor of his Sovereign, and with the vain hope to perpetuate himſelf in office, to adopt meaſures contrary to his better judgment, and the true intereſts of his country, he ſaw that the moſt, or rather the only, certain method of carrying thoſe obnoxious meaſures into effect, was to create an intereſt in Parliament ſeparate from that of the people; by the baſeſt and moſt degrading arts of political depravity, a majority of votes in both Houſes was obtained and ſecured; and ſince the eſtabliſhment of this ſyſtem of miniſterial corruption, which has deſcended to us in its full force, the deliberations of Parliament are become little better than the conflicts of faction, or the empty forms of freedom *. Parliament, which ought to exhibit an unclouded diſplay of wiſdom, integrity, and benevolence, combined

* Foreign, as it may juſtly be deemed, from the purpoſe of hiſtory, which deſcends not to the contemplation of the private characters of men, any further than they may be interwoven with their public life, it may be tranſiently remarked that this Miniſter, although he cannot be applauded for the purity of his morals, poſſeſſed, in an eminent degree, all thoſe happy ſocial qualities which conciliate affection, if they fail to engage eſteem. This ſtriking trait of Sir Robert Walpole's general character has been touched in a maſterly manner by the poetic pencil of POPE:

"Seen him I have, but in his happier hour
Of ſocial pleaſure, ill exchang'd for power;
Seen him uncumber'd with the venial tribe,
Smile without art, and win without a bribe."

Sir

combined in one illuſtrious aſſemblage is virtually degraded to a court convened only for the purpoſe of enregiſtering the royal edicts. It is not the grave and well-weighed counſels of the legiſlature which, under this ſyſtem, direct the movements of the executive power; but it is the caprice, the pride, and the folly of the executive power which have too frequently influenced and governed the volitions of the legiſlative body. It is an acknowledged truth, a truth upon parliamentary record—that "THE INFLUENCE OF THE CROWN OUGHT TO BE DIMINISHER;" but no vigorous ſteps have yet been taken to effect that diminution. A reform of the repreſentation, a reduction of the ſtanding military force, a progreſſive redemption of the public debt, and a total abolition of all uſeleſs and ſuperfluous places, penſions, and ſinecures, upon which the monſter CORRUPTION feeds and thrives, are alone adequate to accompliſh the mighty taſk of a national regeneration. And if that energy and virtue are wanting in the community at large, which will in time incite to the adoption of ſuch means as are neceſſary to effectuate this end, what remains but to await, in deep and tranquil ſilence, the moment in which the national liberty is fated finally to terminate in that abſolute monar-

Sir Robert Walpole, in perſon, was tall, ſomewhat bulky, and his countenance is deſcribed as noble and benign. Of his attachment to the fine arts, the magnificent collection of pictures of Houghton *was* a very deciſive proof; but his neglect or contempt of literature, though not himſelf wholly devoid of learning, expoſed him to continual diſgrace; for while the meaſures of his adminiſtration were attacked by men of the higheſt talents, they were vindicated only by ſcribblers, who were liberally paid for writing what even the moſt partial friends of the Miniſter could ſcarcely endure to read. A penſion of three thouſand livres granted by Louis XV. to the celebrated M. Crebillon, gave riſe in England to the following *jeu d'eſprit*:

"At reading this, great WALPOLE ſhook his head;
How! wit and genius help a man to bread!
With better ſkill we penſion and promote;
None eat with us who cannot give a vote."

chy

thy which, according to a profound and celebrated writer, forms the true *euthanaſia* of the BRITISH CONSTITUTION?

The new adminiſtration was now completely formed, and the whole formidable ſeries of patriotic motions had been ſucceſsfully conſigned, by their former advocates, to repoſe and oblivion. Affairs, therefore, now reverting to their regular and accuſtomed channels, the Houſe of Commons was moved, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to reſolve itſelf into a Committee of Supply; and, conformably to the eſtimates and reſolutions brought forward, upwards of an hundred thouſand ſeamen and landmen were voted for the ſervice of the current year; the ſum of five hundred thouſand pounds was granted to the Queen of Hungary, and the ſubſidies to Denmark and Heſſe Caſſel continued *. But this was deemed by the Court a very inadequate aid; and it ſoon appeared that the new Miniſter, Lord Carteret, a man

* "Such, ſays the Gothic annaliſt of the times, were the exertions of the new miniſters to make ſome *figure* with the people in ſupport of the meaſures of his Majeſty, that no leſs than five millions ſeven hundred and twenty-three thouſand pounds had been granted this ſeſſion in the Committee of Supply: all of it, he adds exultingly, *except* 20,000l. *voted for building Weſtminſter bridge*, for the purpoſes of the war, or for ſupplying the deficiencies of the expence of laſt year's warlike preparations." Is it not worth while, however, to pauſe a moment, and aſk whether the community has not, *according to the calm verdict of reaſon*, derived more real and permanent advantage from the expenditure of the 20,000l. in a work of public utility and magnificence, than of the millions ſo eagerly and laviſhly appropriated to the purpoſes of devaſtation and deſtruction? Is it pity or ſcorn, amazement or ſorrow, indignation or deriſion, that ſuch national infatuation as this is calculated in a philoſophic mind moſt ſtrongly to excite? Or is power delegated by communities to individuals only to multiply and perpetuate their own miſeries? How forcibly does hiſtory confirm the humiliating reflection of the poet:

"——Man, proud man,
Dreſt in a little brief authority,
Plays ſuch fantaſtic tricks before high Heaven
As make the angels weep."

haughty

haughty and confident, had formed vaſt and dangerous projects, calculated for the ſole purpoſe of recommending himſelf to the favor of the King, who was ambitious to ſignalize his talents, as King WILLIAM had formerly done, at the head of a grand Continental army. With this view, therefore, ſixteen thouſand regular troops, afterward increaſed to a much larger number, and which might have been employed to great advantage in different naval expeditions, were, in the month of April 1742, embarked for Flanders, and were ſhortly after joined by ſixteen thouſand Hanoverians and ſix thouſand Heſſians, in Britiſh pay, and a numerous body of Auſtrians. The Earl of Stair, created, on the recent reſignation of the Duke of Argyle, Field-Marſhal of Great Britain, a Nobleman diſtinguiſhed as well for his perſonal accompliſhments as his military and political talents, was appointed Generaliſſimo of this new army. Being inveſted with the character of Ambaſſador Extraordinary to the States General, he exerted in vain the whole force of his eloquence to prevail upon their High Mightineſſes to concur in the projects of the King of Great Britain. Although the States had come to a previous reſolution conſiderably to augment their forces, they declared their determination to adhere to their neutrality. And the Engliſh General, finding himſelf unable, without their aſſiſtance, to engage in thoſe offenſive operations he had in contemplation, which were ſaid to be the ſiege of Dunkirk, to be followed, if ſucceſsful, by a rapid march to the Somme, diſtributed his army into cantonments in the countries of Flanders, Liege, and Luxemburg.

Lord Stair's negotiation proving ineffectual, Lord Carteret was himſelf delegated with new propoſitions for the conſideration and choice of their High Mightineſſes: 1. That the republic ſhould declare war againſt France in concert with England, &c. 2. That they ſhould garriſon the fortified towns in Flanders belonging to the Queen

Queen of Hungary, to enable her to employ her troops in the field: 3. That Great Britain ſhould take thirty thouſand of the troops of Holland into Britiſh pay: Laſtly, To enter into a new treaty of commerce very advantageous to the republic. The States General, in reply, declared their reluctance, by entering into the war, to make it more bloody; they, with a noble pride, aſſerted, that the troops of the republic were raiſed only for the defence of the republic, and THEY HAD NEVER HIRED THEM OUT. As to the laſt propoſition, it was acknowledged to be very acceptable, but too dearly purchaſed at the expence of a war. Theſe anſwers, however conſonant to the moderation, wiſdom, and dignity of the republic, gave little ſatisfaction to the Engliſh Miniſter, who returned to London much diſpleaſed and diſappointed at his failure.

When the Parliament of Great Britain met in November 1742, the conduct of the new Miniſtry was arraigned in the bittereſt terms of ſeverity. The Earl of Cheſterfield, who had not been included in the new arrangements of Office, aſſerted, that the aſſembling an army in Flanders without the concurrence of the States General, or any other power engaged by treaty, or bound by intereſt, to ſupport the Queen of Hungary, was a raſh and ridiculous meaſure; that it would inevitably involve the nation as principals in an expenſive and ruinous war; and that the arms and wealth of Great Britain alone were not adequate to the purpoſe of raiſing the Houſe of Auſtria to its former height of elevation; that, while England exhauſted her reſources to carry into effect her romantic and impracticable projects, the Electorate of Hanover, though under the ſame engagements, and governed by the ſame Prince, contributed nothing as an ally to her aſſiſtance, but was paid by Great Britain for all the forces it had ſent into the field, and at a very exorbitant price. After having exalted the Elector of

Hanover

Hanover from a ſtate of obſcurity to the Crown, this nation, ſaid his Lordſhip, is condemned to hire the troops of that Electorate to fight in their own cauſe, to hire them at a rate which was never demanded before, and to pay levy-money for them, though it is known to all Europe that they were not raiſed for this occaſion. The Duke of Bedford alſo, a Nobleman of many private and public virtues, and of a family illuſtriouſly diſtinguiſhed by the ardor of its attachment to the true intereſts of their country, affirmed, on this occaſion, "that the meaſures of the Engliſh Miniſtry had long been regulated by the intereſt of his Majeſty's Electoral territories; that theſe had long been conſidered as a gulf, into which the treaſures of Great Britain had been thrown; that the ſtate of Hanover had been changed, without any viſible cauſe, ſince the acceſſion of its Princes to the throne of England. The marks of affluence and proſperity were of late diſcernible in all its diſtricts, without any diſcovery of mines or extenſion of commerce; and new dominions had been purchaſed, the price of which it was more than ſuſpected was never paid from the revenues of Hanover." The motion, however, for an addreſs to the throne, "beſeeching and adviſing his Majeſty to exonerate his ſubjects of the charge and burden of thoſe mercenaries who were taken into the ſervice laſt year without the knowledge or conſent of Parliament," was rejected; Lord Carteret, the new Miniſter, with heroic effrontery, ſetting every appearance of conſiſtency at defiance, and engaging with the moſt zealous ardor in the proſecution and defence of meaſures which he had himſelf repeatedly held up to the public ſcorn, indignation, and deriſion. In the courſe of the ſeſſion, the Place Bill was again brought forward, and again rejected by the Commons; the numbers, on the diviſion, being 221 againſt 196. Mr. Sandys declared himſelf indeed to be as great, if not a greater, friend than ever to the

the bill, but that the TIME was improper; that it was neceſſary previouſly to remove certain prejudices which had been ſcattered round the throne; and that he was againſt urging the meaſure at preſent, becauſe he hoped the period would ſhortly arrive when it would be readily agreed to by every branch of the legiſlature. A motion for reviving the inquiry into the conduct of Sir Robert Walpole for the laſt ten years, was negatived by 253 againſt 186. In purſuance of the plan of Continental warfare now adopted by the Court of London, the Earl of Stair aſſembled the confederate forces early in the ſpring (A. D. 1743), with a view, as was believed, of penetrating the frontier of France on the ſide of the Moſelle; but being oppoſed by the Auſtrian and Hanoverian Generals intruſted with the ſecret reſolves of the Engliſh Court, the whole army directed its courſe towards the Maine. On their near approach to Francfort, the Emperor, alarmed with the apprehenſion of falling as a captive into the hands of the King of England, prepared to fly for refuge, though he ſeemed ſcarcely to know whither; but the Engliſh commander deputed, without delay, an officer of diſtinction with a meſſage to his Imperial Majeſty, aſſuring him, in the name of the King his maſter, that the reſpect due to the Imperial dignity ſhould not be violated, nor the city he had choſen for his perſonal reſidence moleſted. The Emperor, notwithſtanding, retired firſt to Munich, and, on the re-approach of the Auſtrians, to Augſburg, whence he returned, at the termination of the campaign to his former reſidence at Francfort. The Court of Verſailles, which had in vain made advances of accommodation to the Court of Vienna, now apprehending the junction of the allies commanded by Lord Stair with the Auſtrians under Prince Charles of Lorraine, directed the Mareſchal de Noailles to aſſemble an army of 60,000 men on the Maine, while the Mareſchal de Coigné was

placed at the head of a yet ſuperior army in Alſace, to oppoſe any attempt of the Auſtrian commander to penetrate into France by forcing the paſſage of the Rhine. The King of England, eager to gather thoſe laurels which imagination had already woven into wreaths and garlands, accompanied by his younger ſon the Duke of Cumberland—now, for the firſt time, appearing in the field—arrived in June at the camp of Aſchaffenburg. Here, however, to his unſpeakable ſurpriſe and chagrin, the Monarch ſoon found himſelf and his whole army reduced to a very critical ſituation, by the ſuperior ſkill and conduct of the Mareſchal de Noailles, whoſe plan of military operation during this campaign, the King of Pruſſia tells us, would have done honor to the moſt renowned captain. This General had, early in the ſummer, taken poſſeſſion of the cities of Spire, Worms, and Oppenheim, and, paſſing the Rhine, had encamped on the eaſt ſide of the river, above Francfort, in a poſition which commanded the navigation of the upper Maine; at the ſame time occupying all the adjacent poſts on the Rhine and Maine, ſo as effectually to bar all acceſs with the ſurrounding country, and to intercept all convoys of proviſions or ſupply. The King of England, therefore, found himſelf under the neceſſity of decamping from Aſchaffenburg, and directed his march to Hanau, where he expected to meet large reinforcements. But the Mareſchal, foreſeeing that the Allies would not long be able to maintain their poſition, had taken his meaſures accordingly; and, on approaching the village of Dettingen, his Britannic Majeſty found the French army drawn up in battle-array, with a view to oppoſe his farther progreſs. To ſo perilous an extremity no King of England, in encountering a foreign enemy, had ever been reduced. In front were the narrow and dangerous defiles of Dettingen, occupied in force by the enemy; on the left flowed the river Maine, on the high oppoſite banks of which the French

French had planted a formidable line of batteries; on the right were mountains and woods, interfected by a morafs; and all retreat was precluded by the vigilance of the French commander, who had taken poffeffion of Afchaffenburg immediately on its being evacuated by the Britifh forces. No event more favorable could be expected than that the whole army muft, in a fhort time, furrender themfelves prifoners of war; and the Marefchal de Noailles might reafonably prefume, that for him was referved the glory of avenging the fatal catafrophe of Poictiers. But the rafh and inexperienced valor of the Duc de Grammont blafted thefe brilliant hopes; advancing through the defiles, contrary to the expref orders of the Marefchal, who was compelled to move with the whole army to fuftain this unfeafonable attack, he offered the enemy battle upon equal terms in the inclofed plain. The French charged with their ufual impetuofity, but were received by the Engliſh with cool and determined intrepidity; the Earl of Stair making the neceffary previous difpofitions with great military fkill. The King himfelf di played much perfonal courage, and the French were repulfed with great flaughter, and compelled to repafs the Maine with the lofs of 6000 men; though they fuffered no moleftation in their retreat, the King of England purfuing without delay his march to Hanau, impatient to receive his expected fupplies and reinforcements. The Duke of Cumberland, who fought with great gallantry, was wounded in the action. At Hanau the King was vifited by Prince Charles of Lorraine and Count Khevenhuller; but no operations of conſequence took place during the remainder of this campaign, the original or fpecific object of which it might baffle the profoundeft fagacity to devife. Towards the latter end of the fummer, the allied army paffed the Rhine at Mentz, and the King of England fixed his head-quarters at Worms. Here the advances of the Diet, who, folicitous to reftore the peace of the Empire, wrote letters to

the King of England and the States General, requeſting, in concert with themſelves, the mediation of the maritime powers, being previouſly rejected, a treaty was ſigned with the Queen of Hungary and the King of Sardinia, who engaged to maintain 40,000 infantry and a proportionable corps of cavalry, for the ſervice of the Queen of Hungary in Italy. The allurements held out to his Sardinian Majeſty were, an Engliſh ſubſidy of 280,000l. *per annum*, the tranſfer of certain diſtricts of the Milaneſe, and the proſpect of gaining the Marquiſate of Finale, her pretenſions to which, by an article of this treaty, her Hungarian Majeſty moſt generouſly aſſigned over to this Monarch; although an actual and unconditional ceſſion of that territory to the republic of Genoa, to which it had antiently belonged, though wreſted from her by the violence of the Houſe of Auſtria, had been made by the late Emperor Charles VI. for the ſum of 400,000 golden crowns, for which it had been previouſly mortgaged; and which ſum, it is true, her Hungarian Majeſty now condeſcended to grant her royal permiſſion to the republic to receive from any power willing and able to repay it *. The republic remonſtrated in the ſtrongeſt

* The tenth article of the Treaty of Worms, relating to the ceſſion of Finale, is a great hiſtorical curioſity, and exhibits the crooked and inſidious policy of Lord Carteret in a very ſtriking point of view. It is as follows: "As it is of importance to the public cauſe, that his Majeſty the King of Sardinia ſhould have an immediate communication of his dominions with the ſea and with the maritime powers, her Majeſty the Queen of Hungary and Bohemia yields to him all the rights which ſhe may have in any manner, and upon any title whatſoever, to the town and marquiſate of Finale, which rights ſhe yields and transfers, without any reſtrictions, to the King, in the ſame manner as ſhe does the countries deſcribed in the foregoing article; in the juſt expectation that the republic of Genoa will facilitate, as far as ſhall be neceſſary, a diſpoſition ſo indiſpenſably requiſite for the liberty and ſecurity of Italy, *in conſideration of the ſum which ſhall be found due to the republic, without his Majeſty the King of Sardinia, or her Majeſty the Queen of Hungary, being obliged to contribute to the payment of the ſaid ſum:* provided always, that the town of Finale be and remain for ever a free-port town, as is Leghorn; and that it ſhall be allowable for his Majeſty the King of Sardinia to re-eſtabliſh there the forts which

ſtrongeſt manner againſt a treaty ſo injurious to her rights; proteſting alſo, in a memorial preſented to the Imperial Diet, againſt this tranſaction, and claiming the protection of that auguſt body; Finale being an ancient and acknowledged fief of the Empire. But Lord Carteret, who had accompanied the King of England to Germany, and negociated this affair in perſon, treated the embaſſy of the Republic with the moſt marked and inſufferable contempt, though the Queen of Hungary herſelf heſitated to inſiſt upon the validity of her claim. In conſequence of this abominable injuſtice, the Senate of Genoa concluded a treaty of alliance, offenſive and defenſive, with Spain, at

which have been demoliſhed, or to cauſe others to be built, according as he ſhall judge convenient." It is evident that Lord Carteret, conſcious of the nefarioufneſs of this attempt, dared not openly to ſacrifice the faith and honour of the Engliſh nation, which had actually guaranteed, by the fourth article of the Quadruple Alliance, the poſſeſſion of Finale to the Genoeſe, by making it a direct party in the tranſaction. It was no doubt the *purpoſe* of the Engliſh Miniſter to perſuade the Parliament of Great Britain to pay the money in queſtion, and to compel the Senate of Genoa to take it. But, if he found the oppoſition to this meaſure too ſtrong, he had this evaſion in reſerve, that the rights of the Queen of Hungary, if invalid in themſelves, gave no additional ſanction to the claims of the King of Sardinia; that the republic was not obliged to conſent to the redemption of the mortgage, nor was Great Britain under any obligation to offer it. Thus a flagitious ſcheme was formed, which might be eaſily abandoned if found impracticable in the execution. A negociation at the cloſe of the ſummer was carried on with the Emperor, and articles of accommodation actually agreed upon, with the reluctant concurrence of the Queen of Hungary, by which the hereditary dominions of the Emperor were to be reſtored, on condition of a renunciation of his claims on the Auſtrian ſucceſſion. By a ſeparate article of the treaty, the ſum of ſix millions of florins was, by a temporary aſſignment on certain lands, allotted to the Emperor for the ſupport of the Imperial dignity, all deficiencies in the payment of which were to be made good by the King of England. Lord Carteret, however, reſolving not to take upon himſelf the ſole reſponſibility of this article, delayed the ſigning of the treaty till a meſſenger was diſpatched to the Regency in London, requiring their aſſent to it. But, to the ſurpriſe and chagrin both of the King and the Emperor, the Regency ſent word, "that they were of opinion, it was better, till the accompliſhment of a general peace, to leave the burden of ſupporting his Imperial Majeſty on the Court of France, who would ſoon be tired of the expence." The negotiation, therefore, proved ultimately abortive.

Aranjuez,

Aranjuez, the following year—provoking, by this means, the implacable reſentment of the Houſe of Auſtria, which appeared to deem the abſolute annihilation of the republic ſcarcely an adequate atonement for ſuch an act of preſumption. In September, the Allies, now encamped at Spire, were joined by 20,000 Dutch auxiliaries; the States General, notwithſtanding the ſolicitations and menaces of France, being at laſt prevailed upon openly to declare themſelves in favor of the Queen of Hungary. Mareſchal Noailles having retired into Alſace, the Allies, as if now pleaſed and proud to march about, made various random and fruitleſs incurſions, and demoliſhed the entrenchments already abandoned by the French on the banks of the Queich; after which they ſeparated into winter-quarters *. Prince Charles of Lorraine alſo, being foiled in his attempts to penetrate into France on the ſide of Alſace, by the Mareſchal de Coigné, marched back to the Palatinate; and the campaign cloſed with no deciſive advantage on either ſide. But Lord Stair, the Engliſh Commander in Chief, immediately on the termination of it, threw up his commiſſion in high diſguſt; determined not to lend the authority of his name to military operations, in the concerting and directing of which he had, by his own declaration, ſo little ſhare. This celebrated Nobleman was one of the moſt remarkable, and in all reſpects, one of the moſt accompliſhed perſonages of his time. He had, early in life, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his zeal in ſupport of the Revolu-

* "Pour ſe convaincre (ſays the King of Pruſſia) du peu de ſuite qu'il y a dans les actions des hommes, il n'y a qu'à faire l'analyſe de cette campagne. On aſſemble une armée ſur le Mein, ſans pourvoir à ſes ſubſiſtances: la faim et la ſurpriſe obligent les Alliés à ſe battre; ils ſont vainqueurs des François; ils paſſent le Rhin, ils vont à Worms; le Speyerbach les arrête, ſans qu'ils trouvent des expédiens pour en dépoſter les ennemis; ils avancent enfin ſur le Speyerbach que M. de Noailles les abandonne, et ils ne reçoivent les ſecours des Hollandois que pour prendre des quartiers d'hiver dans le Brabant et dans la Weſtphalie.—Après quoi le Roi George prit le chemin de Londres, pour y faire à ſon Parlement, dans une harangue pompeuſe, le recit de des exploits."—*Oeuvres de Frederic II.*

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tion, to the principles of which he continued ever ſteadily attached. Devoting himſelf to a military life, his valor and conduct were conſpicuouſly diſplayed in the wars of the Revolution and Succeſſion; and his knowledge and addreſs being no leſs eminent than his courage, he was employed in various political negotiations, reſiding ſeveral years in a diplomatic capacity at the courts of Warſaw and Verſailles. During the regency of the Duke of Orleans, the Earl of Stair roſe to the higheſt degree of favor, and was admitted to the moſt intimate confidence of that Prince, who, as we are told, upon ſome intereſting political occaſion, being aſked what part his Royal Highneſs meant to take, replied, with a ſmile, "Whatever the Engliſh Ambaſſador pleaſes." After paſſing through a variety of high offices, he was at length, in conſequence of his determined oppoſition to the meaſures of Sir Robert Walpole, diveſted of all his employments; and retiring to Scotland, lived upon his eſtate many years in dignified obſcurity. But, on the formation of the Continental army, he was recalled in the moſt flattering and honorable manner, in order to be placed at the head of it; and it is by many believed that, if his plans had been adopted in their full extent, France would have found it difficult to reſiſt the ſudden and powerful impreſſion which, in the ſpirit of a great commander, he is known to have meditated.

Early in the following ſpring, March 1744 war was formally declared by France againſt England; and, in a ſhort time after, by England againſt France. In the declaration of France, the King of Great Britain was accuſed of a violation of his neutrality, and of having diſſuaded the Court of Vienna from acceding to any terms of accomdation. "The war, ſays the King of Pruſſia, ſpeaking of the ſituation of affairs at this period, had changed its object. The original idea of ſelf-preſervation on the part of the Houſe of Auſtria had given place to projects of conqueſt. The ſucceſs of the Court of Vienna had excited its ambition;

on; and there was no longer room to doubt that the dethronement of the Emperor was in contemplation, and that the King of England ſecretly labored to effect the ſame purpoſe." The mild, the equitable, and pacific Fleury, who, at the age of ſeventy, had aſſumed the reins of government in France, and had ſucceſsfully directed the counſels of that great monarchy for a period of eighteen years, was now no more. And, in conſequence of his demiſe, the Court of Verſailles appeared far leſs ſolicitous to terminate the ſubſiſting differences: and formal reciprocal declarations of war were now publiſhed by the Courts of Verſailles and Vienna. In the former, his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty charged the Queen of Hungary with "obſtinate implacability, with a fixed determination not to liſten to terms of accommodation, and with harboring projects of inſatiable ambition, hatred, and revenge." On the other hand, the Queen of Hungary charged his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty with "a violation of his moſt ſolemn engagements reſpecting the Pragmatic Sanction; with inſidiouſly inciting different pretenders to lay claim to the ſucceſſion of the late Emperor; with endeavouring to inſtigate the common enemy of Chriſtendom againſt her; and with having acted the part of a public incendiary in the north of Europe, in order that the Czarina might be prevented from aſſiſting the Houſe of Auſtria, while the armies of France were ſpreading deſolation throughout the Empire." And all impartial perſons were compelled to acknowledge, that the criminations and recriminations of theſe oppoſite declarations were, to the misfortune of mankind—oppreſſed by the ceaſeleſs contentions of theſe proud rival Houſes—ſtrictly and literally true. Vaſt preparations were now made by the Court of Verſailles for the enſuing campaign in Flanders, where an army of one hundred and twenty thouſand men was aſſembled, under the command of the famous Mareſchal Comte de Saxe, who inveſted and reduced the towns of Menin, Ypres, and Furnes. The allied

ed army, commanded by the Duke of Cumberland, a general of almoſt one whole year's experience, and very inferior to that of the French in force, was unable to impede the progreſs of his arms; which, however, received a ſudden and unexpected check from the ſucceſs of Prince Charles of Lorraine, who, having found means to elude the vigilance of Mareſchal Coigné, had croſſed the Rhine at the head of a numerous army, had ſecured the paſſes of Lorraine, and laid the whole country under contribution. Forty thouſand men being detached to reinforce the army in Alſace, the Allies ventured to approach the French commander, now acting on the defenſive; but found no favorable opportunity of attack; and, after various inexplicable and inconſiſtent movements, they at length retired, without hazarding either ſiege or battle, into winter-quarters*.

In the mean time, all France was in conſternation at the progreſs of the Auſtrians under the Prince of Lorraine, accompanied by the veteran Mareſchal Traun. The fate of the kingdom ſeemed involved in the iſſue of a battle. But their ſchemes of conqueſt were entirely fruſtrated by the alarming intelligence that the King of Pruſſia had a ſecond time entered the dominions of the Queen of Hungary; that the city of Prague and all Bohemia had ſubmitted almoſt without reſiſtance, being entirely unſuſpicious of danger, and conſequently deſtitute of the proper means of defence. "Kings, ſays one of the moſt reſpectable writers of antiquity, have no reaſon to blame the people for changing for intereſt, ſince in that they do but imitate their maſters, who are patterns of treachery and perfidiouſneſs, and who think thoſe men moſt capable of ſerving them

* The French garriſon at Liſle, we are told, diſplayed their wit at the expence of the inactive warriors they could ſee from their walls. Harlequin was introduced upon the ſtage, pompouſly exhibiting a bundle of papers under each arm. Being aſked what he had under the right, he anſwered, *Orders*; and what under the left, with equal ſolemnity—*Counter-orders*.

who

who pay the leaſt regard to honeſty *." Scarcely were the ratifications of the treaty of Breſlaw exchanged, before the treaty itſelf was violated by one of the parties, in the apprehenſion that it would *eventually* be violated by the other: and Sileſia was deſtined to be once more deluged in blood, in order to determine whether it ſhould be ſubject to the tyranny of Auſtria or Brandenburg. Prince Charles immediately prepared to march to the relief of Bohemia, and repaſſed, by the light of the full moon, the Rhine, in the face of the French army, commanded by the Mareſchals de Coigné, Noailles, and Belleiſle, who, it was ſuſpected indeed, had ſtill leſs inclination than ability to prevent his departure. The King of Pruſſia himſelf acknowledges, that the real motive of this invaſion was his apprehenſion that the French would be compelled to conclude ſuch a peace as the Auſtrian arrogance ſhould preſcribe; and that the whole force of the Queen of Hungary would afterwards be employed in the recovery of Sileſia; relying, as he tells us, little on the guarantee of England; and knowing that the King of England, in a letter written in his own hand to the Queen of Hungary, had, in alluſion to the conqueſt of Sileſia, made uſe of this remarkable expreſſion—"Madame, ce qui eſt bon à prendre eſt bon à rendre." The oſtenſible ground, however, for this hoſtile attack, was the reſtoration of the tranquility of the Empire, and the juſt rights of the Emperor; for which purpoſe a treaty had been ſigned at Francfort May 22, 1744, in which the Emperor, the King of Pruſſia, the King of Sweden, as Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, and the Elector Palatine, were the "moſt high, and high contracting parties:" and by which they engaged themſelves to oblige the Queen of Hungary to reinſtate his Imperial Majeſty in his Electoral dominions, to acknowledge the validity of his election, and to deliver up the archives of the Empire, ſtill in her poſſeſſion; and, by an article yet

* Plutarch, in Vit. Pyrr.

more

more alarming, to compel her Hungarian Majeſty to ſubmit the various claims relative to the Auſtrian ſucceſſion to a regular juridical deciſion. And the King of Pruſſia, in his public reſcript to M. d'Andrie, his Miniſter at the Britiſh Court, expreſſed his indignation at, "the interference of Great Britain in the internal affairs of the Empire, and the unreaſonableneſs of pretending, that ſuch powerful and reſpectable Princes as thoſe of the Empire, ſhould be obliged to regulate their conduct according to the inclinations of thoſe among the Engliſh who ſtrive to make their countrymen enter into foreign quarrels, that are of no manner of concern to England *." The Prince of Lorraine, under the able direction of Mareſchal Traun, proceeded from the banks of the Rhine, with rapid marches, into Bohemia, where the Auſtrians were reinforced by twenty thouſand Saxons; the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, having ſigned with her Hungarian Majeſty a convention for the mutual guarantee of their dominions. This ſudden return of the Auſtrian army entirely diſconcerted the projects of the Pruſſian Monarch, who, having advanced with ſome indiſcretion towards the frontiers of the Arch-Duchy, was himſelf in imminent danger of having his retreat intercepted by the ſkilful manœuvres of Mareſchal Traun: and finding this wary and cautious veteran conſtantly encamped in inacceſſible ſituations, he had no other reſource remaining than to abandon his conqueſts in Bohemia, and to gain the paſſes of Sileſia, which he effected not without great difficulty and loſs, leaving his heavy

* By the treaty of Francfort, the Heſſians, to whom ſuch immenſe ſums had been paid in ſubſidies during the years of peace, not only refuſed farther to co-operate with us as allies, but actually took a decided part in oppoſition to Great Britain, alarmed at the ambitious projects formed, with the concurrence of England, for the aggrandiſement of the Houſe of Auſtria.

artillery

artillery and magazines in the hands of the enemy. * Such, says the King of Prussia, was the end of a campaign, the commencement of which promised the most brilliant success; and in the conduct of which he, with a noble ingenuousness, confesses himself chargeable with a series of errors, while he applauds the skill and sagacity of his antagonist as worthy of the highest admiration. "Mareschal Traun (says he) acted the part of Sertorius, and the King that of Pompey. The conduct of that commander in this campaign was a model of perfection, which every soldier who is attached to his profession ought to study and to imitate so far as he possesses the ability." The King often mentioned this campaign as his *école de la guerre*, and Mareschal Traun as his military preceptor; and the Prince of Lorraine, on his return to Vienna, was received with acclamations of applause, to which, though on all occasions he had displayed much personal gallantry, he had only a secondary claim.

During these transactions, Count Seckendorf, the Imperial General, being liberally supplied with subsidies from

* The King of Prussia had no expectation of the re-appearance of the Austrian army in Bohemia during this campaign, and highly resented the inactivity of the French Generals, who notwithstanding the urgent remonstrances of the Prussian Minister Schmettau, made very faint and feeble efforts to impede the retreat of the Prince of Lorraine from the French territories; little impressed, as it should seem, with the arguments of the Court of Berlin, tending to shew the *impolicy* of this conduct. "Schmettau (says his Prussian Majesty) étoit désespéré de la molesse des François. Il présentoit des memoires au Roi, il pressoit les Ministers, il écrivoit aux Maréchaux. Et quel risque couroit la France? Quand M. de Noailles auroit été battu, les troupes de la Reine étoient également obligées de quitter l'Alsace; et si les François étoient victorieux, ils détruisoient l'armée Autrichienne, qui vivement poursuivie, au lieu de repasser les ponts du Rhin, se seroit noyée dans ce fleuve. Les François emportèrent le village d' Achenheim, et s'amusèrent des formalités superflues, tandis que le Prince de Lorraine mit ce tems à profit pour repasser le Rhin sur les ponts de Bleinheim qu'il rompit avant l'aube du jour. Les François firent sonner des rodomontades; et le Prince de Lorraine continua paisiblement sa marche par la Souabe et le Haut Palatinat pour entrer en Boheme."—*Oeuvres de Frederic II.*

France,

France, had found means to aſſemble an army, with which he had made an irruption into Bavaria, and the Emperor once more took poſſeſſion of Munich, his capital. But this faint gleam of proſperity was of ſhort duration: knowing that the Auſtrians, now triumphant in Bohemia, were once more preparing to expel him from his hereditary dominions, deſtitute of reſource, and overwhelmed with a ſucceſſion of misfortunes, he expired at Munich January 18, 1745, of that moſt inſupportable of ſublunary ills—a broken heart; leaving to future ages a moſt ſtriking and memorable example of the inſtability and vanity of human greatneſs *.

The Grand Seignior, Mahmout V. had obſerved with exemplary and inviolable fidelity, during the troubles of the Queen of Hungary, the treaty recently concluded with the Emperor Charles VI.; and at this period, from the mere ſpontaneous impulſe of generoſity, he offered his mediation, in order to effect a general accommodation amongſt the contending potentates of Chriſtendom. For this purpoſe the Grand Vizier delivered a reſcript to the Miniſters of the belligerent powers reſident at the Porte,

* No apology can be neceſſary for recalling to the public recollection the beautiful lines of the late Dr. Johnſon relative to this Prince, in his maſterly Imitation of the tenth Satire of Juvenal:

"The bold Bavarian in a luckleſs hour
Tries the dread ſummits of Cæſarean power—
With unexpected legions burſts away,
And ſees defenceleſs realms receive his ſway.
Short ſway! fair Auſtria ſpreads her mournful charms,
The Queen, the beauty, ſets the world in arms;
From hill to hill the beacon's rouſing blaze
Spreads wide the hope of plunder and of praiſe;
The fierce Croatian, and the wild huſſar,
And all the ſons of ravage, crowd the war.
The baffled Prince in honor's flattering bloom
Of haſty greatneſs finds the fatal doom;
His foes' deriſion, and his ſubjects' blame—
And ſteals to death from anguiſh and from ſhame."

replete

replete with ſentiments of juſtice and humanity. "WAR is affirmed, in this memorial, to be the malady which infects Princes; but how juſt ſoever they may be in their commencement, wars cannot, with any ſhadow of juſtice, be long continued, becauſe the conſequences that attend them are worſe than the evils they meant to take away. The SUBLIME PORTE hoped, for theſe reaſons, that the Princes of Chriſtendom would have put an end to the war, in order to prevent ſuch calamities: but being informed by the Ambaſſadors, Envoys, Reſidents, and Agents, ſettled here, that they are about to take the field with very numerous armies this campaign, from whence nothing can be expected but black events, it has been thought proper to repreſent to all the Miniſters at the Court of the moſt gracious, moſt invincible, moſt puiſſant Emperor, the ſhadow of God upon earth, that, 1ſt. This muſt occaſion a vaſt effuſion of human blood, and muſt expoſe a multitude of innocent families to ruin and deſtruction. 2. That it muſt give a ſanction to the breach of all laws human and divine, by attributing to force what ought to belong to right, and thereby confound all order, induſtry, and arts. 3. That it muſt prove the cauſe of interrupting commerce even amongſt the ſubjects of ſuch powers as are not engaged in war, to the great loſs and detriment of the human ſpecies in general. That his Sublime Highneſs, having a tender ſenſe of humanity, which is natural to all great minds, has judged it proper to interpoſe, and to endeavour to find out the means of compromiſing theſe differences. The Grand Viſier, therefore, has thought it his duty to inform the reſpective powers at war of this moſt beneficent and laudable deſign in the ſight of God and man of his Sublime Highneſs, in order to know their ſentiments thereupon." It is ſuperfluous to ſay, that this offer was wholly unavailable: it was doubtleſs regarded as a hopeleſs and impracticable taſk ſo to explain the complicated politics of the European courts, as

to

to have made this *ignorant barbarian* comprehend what it was that the Chriſtian Princes were quarrelling about.

In a ſhort time after the death of the Emperor, the Auſtrian armies entered the Electorate of Bavaria; and the young Elector, unable to contend againſt ſuch ſuperior force, was compelled to abandon his capital, and retire to Augſburg; and a treaty was ſoon afterwards concluded at Fueſſen between him and the Queen of Hungary, by which an entire reſtitution of her conqueſts was made by that Princeſs, in conſequence of a relinquiſhment of all claims on the Auſtrian ſucceſſion on the part of the Elector; and, which was of far greater importance, his voice in favor of the Grand Duke of Tuſcany at the enſuing election of an Emperor of the Romans, and his acknowledgement of the validity of the electoral vote of Bohemia in the perſon of the Queen: and the Court of Vienna having now ſecured all the voices of the electoral college, thoſe of Brandenburg and the Palatinate excepted, the Grand Duke was, on the ſecond of September 1745, declared Emperor of the Romans at Francfort, by the name of Francis I. Although the campaign of 1744 had redounded little to the reputation of the Pruſſian arms, the political views of the King were in a great meaſure anſwered by it. The French regained the aſcendant on the Rhine, where they captured, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, the Imperial city of Fribourg; and they were enabled to take the field in Flanders with redoubled force and vigor. The Pruſſian Monarch, on his part, opened the campaign of 1745 in Sileſia at the head of ſeventy thouſand men; and the Auſtrians and Saxons having penetrated into that province through the defile of Landſhut, the two armies joined battle at Friedburg, and after a furious conflict, maintained from the early dawn of morning till noon, the Auſtrians were defeated with great loſs; and retiring into Bohemia, were followed thither by the King, whoſe career of victory ſhewed that he had no longer Mareſchal

Traun

Traun for his adverſary, that officer having been appointed to the command of the army of the Empire, aſſembled for the protection of the Diet at Francfort. The Pruſſian Monarch however, conceiving himſelf abandoned by France, whoſe conqueſts on the Maeſe or the Scheld were, as he affirmed to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, of no more advantage to Pruſſia than victories on the Scamander, would willingly have accommodated his difference with the Empreſs-Queen, by which appellation her Hungarian Majeſty was now diſtinguiſhed; but that Princeſs haughtily rejected his advances: and the Prince of Lorraine received poſitive orders from the Court of Vienna to riſk another engagement. An opportunity offering itſelf of attacking the Pruſſians to advantage in their camp of Sohr, near Staudentz, a ſecond pitched battle took place on the thirtieth of September; and though the Auſtrians ſeemed at firſt to have a fair proſpect of ſucceſs, forcing their way into the interior of the Pruſſian camp, and even carrying off the military cheſt and the King's own cabinet, they were finally repulſed. In this battle, the brother-princes Ferdinand and Louis of Brunſwick were perſonally oppoſed to each other, and fought with an emulation of valor. Notwithſtanding this victory, his Pruſſian Majeſty thought proper to retire from Bohemia, which he always conſidered as an ineligible and hazardous ſcene of military operation, and entered the rich and fertile country of Luſatia. And the Saxons being defeated, December 15, by the Prince of Anhalt at Keſſeldorf, his Poliſh Majeſty was obliged to abandon the city of Dreſden, of which his Pruſſian Majeſty took immediate poſſeſſion: and, in conſequence of the continued ſucceſſes of that Monarch, the Empreſs-Queen was at length induced to ſign a treaty of peace at Dreſden, January 1746, by which the King of Pruſſia acknowledged the Grand Duke of Tuſcany as Emperor; the Electorate of Saxony, in conſideration of the payment of one million of German Crowns, was reſtored

ſtored to his Poliſh Majeſty, and Sileſia once more guaranteed to Pruſſia. Vehement remonſtrances were made by France againſt this treaty, which ſhe affected to reſent as a violation of the moſt ſolemn engagements. But it is ſufficiently evident, that both France and Pruſſia, from the commencement to the termination of their political connection, were actuated entirely by the ſame motives; and that neither obſerved any faith with the other farther than it happened to be conformable to their own ſeparate intereſt. "What is the real language," ſays the King of Pruſſia, "of theſe remonſtrances of the Court of Verſailles? Conti knows ſo well how to detain the principal forces of the Queen of Hungary in Germany, that he has repaſſed the Rhine, leaving any perſons that pleaſed at liberty to elect an Emperor; that Traun has been enabled to detach Grune to Saxony, purpoſing to follow with the remainder of his troops, if the Queen of Hungary thinks fit to employ them againſt you. I have done great things this campaign. *Mention* alſo has been made of you: I regret the dangerous ſituation in which you are placed, for your attachment to me; but glory is to be acquired only by ſacrificing yourſelf for France. Be firm and conſtant, and ſuffer without complaining. Imitate the example of my other allies, whom I have abandoned indeed, but to whom I have given alms when they have loſt their poſſeſſions. You, without doubt, will have ability to extricate yourſelf from theſe embarraſſments; but if unfortunately you ſhould be brought to ruin, I will engage that the French Academy ſhall compoſe the funeral oration of your empire." In a letter written with his own hand to the King of France, his Pruſſian Majeſty thus apologiſes for his defection: "After the letter addreſſed to your Majeſty in November laſt, I thought I had a right to expect from your Majeſty real and effective ſuccors. I do not enter into the reaſons which may have induced your Majeſty to abandon your allies to the caprice of fortune: for this time

the valor of my troops has extricated me from the danger in which I found myſelf involved. Had I been overwhelmed by the number of my enemies, your Majeſty would have contented yourſelf with lamenting my fate, and I ſhould have been left deſtitute of reſource. Your Majeſty adviſes me to counſel myſelf: I have done ſo; and I find that reaſon loudly proclaims the neceſſity of putting a ſpeedy termination to a war which at preſent exiſts without an object, ſince the Auſtrians are no longer the invaders of Alſace, and an Emperor is actually choſen. Reaſon warns me to watch over my own ſafety; and to conſider the formidable armament preparing by Ruſſia on the one ſide, and the army of the Mareſchal Traun advancing from the banks of the Rhine on the other. The Auſtrians and Saxons have ſent their reſpective Miniſters to this place to negotiate a peace, and I have no other option than to ſign it. May I hope for the happineſs of being employed by your Majeſty to mediate a general pacification? The intereſts of France cannot be confided to any perſon more attached to your Majeſty than myſelf; and I beſeech your Majeſty to believe, that the continuance of your friendſhip will be always dear and precious to me." France was in reality too deeply engaged in her favorite projects of conqueſt in the Low Countries, to entertain any ſerious intention of granting efficacious aſſiſtance to the King of Pruſſia.

Early in the year 1745, Mareſchal Saxe, accompanied by the King and the Dauphin, took the field at the head of an immenſe army, and inveſted the important city of Tournay. The Allies, commanded by the Duke of Cumberland, aſſiſted by Mareſchal Konigſeg and the Prince of Waldeck, though far inferior in number, determined to make an effort for the relief of the place. On the 11th of May, they advanced with great reſolution to the attack of the French army, encamped under cover of the village of Fontenoy, and protected by a prodigious fire from

from the batteries they had planted on all ſides. The enterpriſe was conſidered as a ſingular inſtance of military raſhneſs. But ſuch was the intrepidity diſplayed by the Engliſh and Hanoverian infantry, that the French were driven beyond their lines, and in imminent danger of a defeat; but the Dutch failing in their attempt on the village of Fontenoy, and the Engliſh General not making, as it is ſaid, the proper uſe of his firſt ſucceſs, by dividing the column of attack after he had broke the centre of the French, Mareſchal Saxe had time to bring up his *corps de reſerve*, and the Engliſh found themſelves incloſed as it were within a circle of fire, from the redoubts which they had already paſſed, the maſked batteries planted on each ſide, and the artillery, which, under the direction of Mareſchal Saxe himſelf, played upon them with dreadful execution in front. In this ſituation, the moſt heroic efforts were totally unavailing, and the Allies were compelled to retreat with the loſs of more than ten thouſand men, to which that of the French was ſuppoſed nearly equal; but the extent of the misfortune could be known only by the conſequences. Tournay ſurrendered, after a gallant defence, by an honourable capitulation. Ghent and Bruges were captured by a *coup de main*: Oſtend, Dendermond, Newport, and Aeth, were ſucceſſively reduced; and the Allies retired for ſafety beyond the canal of Antwerp: and, at the end of the campaign, the King of France entered the city of Paris in triumph.

Towards the latter end of the ſummer, the French Court, deſirous of cauſing an effectual diverſion to the Engliſh army in Flanders, incited the ſon of the Chevalier de St. George, uſually ſtyled *the Pretender*, a young man of a ſanguine and adventurous diſpoſition, to riſk an invaſion of Great Britain, then almoſt deſtitute of troops, and in a ſtate of great apparent diſſatisfaction with the government. It is not neceſſary to enter into a very circumſtantial narrative of this bold but abortive attempt. Prince

Charles, as he was called by his adherents, landed in the Weſtern Iſlands of Scotland in the month of Auguſt, the King of England being then at Hanover. The Lords of the Regency treated the firſt intelligence of his arrival as an idle tale; but, on receiving farther and undoubted information that he had collected a conſiderable force, and was advancing ſouthward, they iſſued a proclamation, offering a reward of thirty thouſand pounds for his apprehenſion, and diſpatched a meſſenger to the Continent to haſten the return of his Majeſty, making, at the ſame time a requiſition of ſix thouſand auxiliaries, which the Dutch were by treaty under obligation to furniſh; and ſeveral Britiſh regiments were alſo recalled from the Netherlands. Inſtructions were ſent to the Lords Lieutenants throughout the kingdom to array the militia in their ſeveral counties, and commiſſions were iſſued to levy new regiments for the ſpeedy and effectual ſuppreſſion of this rebellion. Many different corps of volunteers were incorporated; addreſſes were preſented from all parts, teſtifying the utmoſt abhorrence of this attempt to ſubvert the government; and, notwithſtanding the previous ſymptoms of diſcontent, the whole kingdom ſeemed united as one man in the moment of danger, in ſupport of the national religion, laws, and conſtitution. Sir John Cope, commander in chief of the forces in North Britain, advanced at the head of what troops he could collect to Inverneſs, in order to oppoſe the farther progreſs of this adventurer, who, in the mean time, marched by another route to the capital, which furrendering to him without reſiſtance September 16, 1745, he cauſed his father to be proclaimed King of Great Britain at the high croſs of Edinburgh, declaring himſelf, at the ſame time, regent of his dominions, and fixing his headquarters at the palace of Holyrood-houſe, the royal reſidence of his anceſtors. On receiving this intelligence, Sir John Cope haſtened back to Edinburgh; and, on the twentieth of September, he encamped with his army, conſiſting

ſiſting of about three thouſand regular troops, near the village of Preſton-pans, in the environs of the capital. Early the next morning, he was attacked, ſword in hand, by the Prince Regent, at the head of about an equal number of Highlanders, who, in leſs than ten minutes, entirely broke the King's troops, unaccuſtomed to their ferocious and terrific mode of fighting. Sir John Cope was heavily cenſured for his preſumption and ignorance on this occaſion. Colonel Gardiner, an officer of diſtinguiſhed merit, and himſelf a native of Scotland, remonſtrating with him on the impropriety of the diſpoſition he had made, was treated with neglect and rudeneſs, and predicted a total defeat, which, however, he diſdained to ſurvive, falling glorioufly, covered with wounds, in the midſt of the enemy, and in ſight of his own manſion. In conſequence of this victory, the pretended Prince Regent ſaw himſelf abſolute maſter of Scotland, a few fortreſſes excepted. He received large ſupplies from France, and was joined by the Lords Kilmarnock, Cromarty, Balmerino, and many other perſons of rank and diſtinction; and the enterpriſe, romantic as it originally appeared, began to wear a ſerious aſpect. The Campbells, the Monroes, the Macdonalds, and other loyal clans, aſſembled, however, in arms, in defence of the government, under the Earl of Loudon. An army was collected in England under General Wade, who received orders to march to the north, and proceeded as far as Newcaſtle. The Prince Pretender, however, reſolving to try his fortune in the ſouth, took the route of Carliſle, which ſurrendered to him in November. Another army, under Sir John Ligonier, was now forming in Staffordſhire; notwithſtanding which, the Prince determined to proceed, hoping for a co-operation from a body of French forces on the ſouthern coaſt, and not doubting but he ſhould be joined by great numbers of the Engliſh malcontents in his progreſs through the kingdom. In this expectation, however, he was grievouſly diſappointed; at Manchester,

cheſter, only, he was received with any demonſtrations of joy. Croſſing the Merſey at Stockport, he advanced through Macclesfield and Congleton to Derby, which was the extreme point of his progreſs; for, underſtanding that the King had determined to take the field in perſon, and to ſet up the ſtandard of England on Finchley Common—the Earl of Stair, Field-Mareſchal of Great Britain, being, at this momentous criſis, again received into favor and confidence, and appointed General of the royal army—he took a ſudden reſolution, though he had actually advanced within a few days march of the metropolis, to provide for his ſafety by a retreat. This amounted plainly to a virtual relinquiſhment of his object, which, indeed, could only be accompliſhed by a ſeries of deſperate efforts, crowned with continual and deciſive ſucceſs. A ſingle diſaſter muſt, in his ſituation, be fatal. No ſooner was the reſolution formed for retreating to the north, than it was carried into effect with almoſt incredible diligence and celerity. Abandoning Derby December 6, their vanguard entered Manchester on the ninth, and on the nineteenth they reached Carliſle; and, after reinforcing the garriſon at that place, the rebel army croſſed the rivers Eden and Solway into Scotland, with all their artillery and military ſtores, eluding the attempts of both the adverſe armies to intercept them on this memorable march, in which no violence was offered, no outrage or rapine committed, in a country abounding with plunder, and preſenting every temptation to the unreſtrained indulgence of military rapacity. On the twenty-firſt of December Carliſle was inveſted by the Duke of Cumberland, who had now aſſumed the chief command, and ſurrendered on the thirtieth at diſcretion. In the mean time, the Prince Regent proceeded to Glaſgow, from which place he exacted heavy contributions, in revenge for the loyalty they had diſplayed in the courſe of the rebellion; after which he inveſted the caſtle of Stirling, though with little proſpect of ſucceſs. General Hawley,

Hawley, now at the head of the King's forces in North Britain, marched to Falkirk, in order to relieve this fortreſs by an attack upon the rebels. On the ſeventeenth of January, 1746, however, the General was himſelf unexpectedly attacked by them, and after ſuſtaining for ſome time a diſorderly and irregular fight, was compelled by a precipitate retreat, not, indeed, ſuffering ſo much loſs as diſgrace, it having been cuſtomary for him to boaſt that, with two regiments of dragoons, he would drive the rebel army from one end of the kingdom to the other. The Duke of Cumberland in perſon being now arrived at Edinburgh with large reinforcements, took upon him the command, and moving towards Linlithgow, the rebels not only abandoned the ſiege of Stirling caſtle, but paſſed the Forth with evident ſymptoms of conſternation; and the Prince Pretender ſtill continuing to advance northward, the Duke of Cumberland, after ſecuring the important paſſes of Stirling and Perth, advanced to Aberdeen. This changeful drama now drew towards a termination. In the beginning of April (1746) the Duke began his march from Aberdeen, and, on the twelfth, paſſed the deep and rapid river Spey, in ſight of the advanced poſts of the enemy, without oppoſition. At Nairne, his Royal Highneſs received intelligence that the Prince Pretender had advanced from Inverneſs to Culloden, in order to give him battle. On the ſixteenth the Duke decamped from Nairne early in the morning, and, after a march of nine miles, perceived the rebel army drawn up in battalia in thirteen diviſions. About one in the afternoon the engagement began, and the Highlanders attempted, as formerly at Preſton-pans, to break the royal troops, by ruſhing down with their broadſwords and Lochaber axes; but being now prepared for this mode of fighting, they received the enemy with fixed bayonets, and kept up a continual firing by platoons, which did prodigious execution. Being thrown into viſible diſorder, the cavalry of the royal army attacked them

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in flank, and, in leſs than thirty minutes, the battle was converted into a general rout; and, orders being iſſued to give no quarter, vaſt numbers were ſlain in the purſuit. It is even affirmed, that unneceſſary and wanton barbarities were committed on the perſons and families of the rebels long after the ceſſation of reſiſtance; and that the Duke of Cumberland ſullied the glory of his victory, by diſplaying a ſavage thirſt of revenge, and a courage untinctured with the feelings of humanity. As, nevertheleſs, the temper and conduct of this Prince were upon no other occaſion tainted with this imputation, it is reaſonable to believe, either that he was tranſported into theſe temporary exceſſes by that rage which is ſo frequent and horrid a concomitant and characteriſtic of civil diſcord; or that he really conceived theſe ſeverities to be neceſſary for the prevention of farther reſiſtance on the part of the rebels. The Pretender eſcaped with great difficulty from the field of battle; and after wandering for many months a wretched and ſolitary fugitive among woods and lakes and mountains, and paſſing through a ſeries of the moſt extraordinary and romantic adventures, to be paralleled only by thoſe of King Charles II. after the battle of Worceſter, he found means, on the twentieth of September, to embark on board a ſmall veſſel, which conveyed him to Morlaix, in Bretagne. The executions which enſued on the ſuppreſſion of this rebellion ſeemed much more numerous than the neceſſity of the caſe required; and the Lords Balmerino, Lovat *, and Kilmarnock, ſuffered the ſentence of decapitation on Tower Hill, as did alſo the Earl of Derwentwater, without any form of trial, being arraigned on the ſentence paſſed againſt him in 1716. The Earl of Cromarty only received a pardon. Both Houſes of Par-

* Lord Lovat, who was of a character infamouſly profligate, ſuffered with great dignity and reſolution: "So much eaſier is it," ſays Sir Dudley Carleton on a ſimilar occaſion, "for a man to die well than to live well."

liament

liament preſented addreſſes of congratulation to his Majeſty, and of thanks to his Royal Highneſs the Duke, on this auſpicious occaſion. The ſum of twenty-five thouſand pounds *per annum* was added, by the Houſe of Commons, to the revenue of the Duke, now become the idol of the nation, and extolled as equal to the moſt illuſtrious of its heroes.

During theſe tranſactions in England, the triumphs of Mareſchal Saxe in Flanders ſtill continued. The King of France again taking the field in perſon, inveſted the city of Antwerp, which ſurrendered after a very ſlight reſiſtance. Mons made a better defence, but was compelled to capitulate before the end of June: and St. Guiſlain and Charleroy ſhared the fate of Mons and Antwerp. On the ſecond of December (1746) the trenches were opened before Namur, and, on the twenty-third, that ſtrong and important fortreſs, after an unavailing effort previouſly made by the Prince of Lorraine, who now commanded the confederate army, for its relief, ſurrendered to the arms of France. On the thirtieth of September, Mareſchal Saxe croſſed the Jaar, behind which river the Allies were poſted, near the village of Roucoux, in order to force them to a battle. After an obſtinate conflict, in which the Prince of Waldeck diſplayed heroic bravery, the Allies were obliged to abandon their poſts with the loſs of five thouſand men and thirty pieces of artillery, and retire to Maeſtricht; and this action terminated the campaign. A ſingular inſtance of preſence of mind is recorded on this occaſion of the Earl of Crawford, who, being attended by his aid-du-camp and a few dragoons, had rode out the morning preceding the battle to reconnoitre the ſituation of the enemy, and fell in unexpectedly with one of their advanced guards. The ſergeant who commanded it immediately ordered his men to preſent their pieces; but the Earl, without the ſlighteſt emotion, told him there was no occaſion for that ceremony, and enquired if he had ſeen any of the enemy's

parties;

parties; and, being anſwered in the negative, replied, "Très bien—tenez vous ſur vos gardes—et ſi vous etiez attaqué, j'aurai ſoin que vous ſoyéz ſoutenu*." This incident coming to the knowledge of Mareſchal Saxe, that Commander diſmiſſed an officer on his parole with a complimentary meſſage to the Earl, aſſuring him "that he could not pardon the ſergeant for not procuring him the honor of his Lordſhip's company to dinner." The States of Holland began now to be ſeriouſly alarmed at the progreſs of the French, and declared themſelves determined to carry on the war with increaſe of vigor.

In March 1747, the allied forces took the field under the command of the Duke of Cumberland; the Prince of Waldeck and the Mareſchal Bathiani conducting the Dutch and Auſtrian troops under him. The whole army amounted to more than one hundred thouſand men. But, on account of the unuſual inclemency of the weather, Mareſchal Saxe remained in his cantonments, contenting himſelf with obſtructing the ſupplies of the allied army, and publicly declaring he would teach the Duke of Cumberland, when his forces were ſufficiently diminiſhed by hunger and ſickneſs, that it is the firſt duty of a General to provide for the health and preſervation of his troops. In April, the French Commander detached Count Lowendahl, at the head of thirty thouſand men, to invade Dutch Flanders; and Sluys, Sas-van-Ghent, and Hulſt, were quickly reduced. The French General now prepared for a deſcent on Zealand; and the whole Dutch nation being ſeized with extreme conſternation, violent popular commotions took place throughout all the provinces. The people at large, ever attached to the Houſe of Orange, and mindful of the important ſervices rendered to the republic by that illuſtrious family, inſiſted upon the Prince of

* Very well—be upon your guard; and, if you are attacked, I will take care that you ſhall be ſupported.

Orange's

Orange's being immediately inveſted with the dignity of Stadtholder; and the States General not chooſing, or not daring, to oppoſe the general ſenſe of the nation, the Prince was on the ſecond day of May (1747) declared Stadtholder, and Captain-General and Admiral of the United Provinces; and, in the courſe of the enſuing year, the dignity was made hereditary in the Houſe of Orange. Upon this change in affairs, many ſpirited reſolutions paſſed in the Aſſembly of the States. An augmentation of the army was decreed, the peaſants were armed and exerciſed, inquiries were inſtituted into the conduct of the Governors who had ſurrendered the towns on the frontier, and hoſtilities were denounced againſt France both by ſea and land. Mareſchal Saxe, regardleſs of theſe internal changes and commotions, advanced with the grand army to Louvaine; and the Duke of Cumberland took poſt at Laffeldt, near Val, in order to cover the city of Maeſtricht. The Mareſchal determined upon a general attack, in order to diſlodge the enemy, and open the way to Maeſtricht. The Allies defended themſelves with great reſolution and perſeverance: The French were repeatedly broken and diſperſed; but freſh brigades continually ſucceeded to thoſe which retired, and the village was three times loſt and recovered. At length, the line being dangerouſly diſordered by an impetuous aſſault of the French cavalry, the Duke ordered a retreat, which was effected with inconſiderable loſs, chiefly through the extraordinary intrepidity and preſence of mind of Sir John Ligonier, who, at the head of a few Britiſh regiments of dragoons and ſquadrons of Imperial horſe, arreſted the purſuit of the whole French army. He was himſelf, his horſe being killed under him, made priſoner; but the regiments he commanded retired unbroken from the field. When this officer was introduced to the preſence of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, that Monarch exclaimed, "When, Sir, will the King your maſter deign to grant us peace?"

And

And he was ſoon releaſed on his parole, intruſted with certain general propoſitions of a pacific tendency, for the conſideration of the Engliſh Court.

The military arrangements of the Commander in chief were the ſubject of much cenſure on this occaſion. When the French firſt appeared on the heights of Herdeeren, the Mareſchal Bathiani urged the neceſſity of an immediate attack, but his advice was received with coolneſs and neglect; and the Commander in chief aſking the Mareſchal where he might be found in caſe of need, the Auſtrian haughtily replied, that he ſhould always be found at the head of his troops *. The Allies however, notwithſtanding their late defeat, were ſtill able to cover Maeſtricht from attack; and Mareſchal Saxe, perceiving his original project diſconcerted, detached Count Lowendahl, with about fifty thouſand men, to lay ſiege to Bergen-op-Zoom, the ſtrongeſt fortification of Dutch Brabant, and accounted almoſt impregnable, being the *chef-d'œuvre* of the famous engineer Coehorn. The enemy appeared before the walls on the twelfth of July, and from this time to the middle of September, a tremendous ſcene of carnage was exhibited. The roar of bombs, mortars, and cannon, was inceſſantly heard, and all the dreadful apparatus of war diſplayed. Baron Cronſtrom, a gallant old veteran, being appointed to the command of the fortreſs, repeated and deſperate ſallies were made by the garriſon, and mines ſprung with horrible ſucceſs. It was generally believed that Count Lowendahl would be obliged to abandon his enterpriſe; but ſome inconſiderable breaches being made in a ravelin and two adjoining baſtions, the Count deter-

* We are told, that a French officer remarking to an Engliſh private, who had been made priſoner after diſplaying extraordinary remarks of valor, that if there had been fifty thouſand ſuch men as he in the allied army, they ſhould have found it very difficult to conquer them; the Engliſhman replied, "There were men enough like me, but we wanted one like Mareſchal Saxe."

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mined upon an aſſault. The Governor, not imagining the breaches practicable, had taken no precautions to guard againſt the attack, which was made with aſtoniſhing intrepidity on the night of the ſixteenth of September. The ſucceſs of the attempt juſtified the apparent raſhneſs of it. The French gained the ramparts, and formed, before the garriſon could aſſemble. The Baron being awaked from his ſleep, was informed that the French were in poſſeſſion of the town, and with difficulty effected his own eſcape. Thus the enemy became entire maſters of the navigation of the Scheldt. Lowendahl was promoted, in conſequence of this ſucceſs, to the rank of Mareſchal of France, and the King of France returned once more in triumph to Verſailles. Notwithſtanding the ſucceſſes of the French in Flanders, they began to feel the continuation of the war extremely burthenſome; they had ſuffered great loſſes at ſea; their navy had ſuſtained repeated ſhocks; their commerce was ruined; their finances were exhauſted; the war in Italy had proved diſaſtrous; the views of the French Monarch in Germany were entirely fruſtrated; the election of a Stadtholder had armed againſt him the whole power of Holland; and he knew that the Courts of London and Vienna were in treaty with the Czarina, who had actually iſſued orders for the march of forty thouſand Ruſſians from the banks of the Wolga to the borders of the Rhine. Moved by theſe conſiderations, his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty made direct and repeated advances of accommodation to the Courts of London and of the Hague; and though they were at firſt received with coldneſs, it was finally agreed that a congreſs ſhould be opened at Aix la Chapelle, and which accordingly met early in the enſuing ſpring, March 1748, the Earl of Sandwich and Sir Thomas Robinſon acting as Ambaſſadors Plenipotentiary from the King of Great Britain. After the conferences commenced, Mareſchal Saxe, notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts of the Allies, inveſted the city of Maeſtricht;

tricht; but the preliminaries of peace being ſigned in the ſpace of a few weeks, hoſtilities were ſuſpended, and the city, which had been defended by the Governor, Baron d'Alva, with ſuch ſkill and gallantry that the beſiegers had made little progreſs, was happily preſerved.

We are now to reſume the narration of the domeſtic and political tranſactions of Great Britain, which has ſuffered great interruption through this long, but neceſſary, detail of foreign military operations. After the reſignation of Sir Robert Walpole, Lord Carteret ſucceeded to all the plenitude of miniſterial power, and he even ſeemed to enjoy the favor and confidence of the Sovereign in a degree ſuperior to his predeceſſor. The nation, however, heavily complained that the war with Spain was become a ſecondary object, or, rather, was wholly neglected, while the affairs of the Continent only engroſſed the attention of the Court, and of the Miniſter, who had entirely forgotten his former eloquent declamations and invectives againſt ſtanding armies, votes of credit, foreign ſubſidies, Continental connexions; and whoſe ſpeeches *now* breathed only glory, conqueſt, and defiance to France.

A very courtly addreſs being moved in the Houſe of Peers, December 1743, in reply to his Majeſty's ſpeech from the throne, "recommending *meaſures of vigor*, and demanding ſupplies to enable him to enter into ſuch engagements with other powers as might be neceſſary for the ſupport of his allies, and the reſtoration of the balance of Europe;" the Earl of Cheſterfield roſe, and expreſſed his hope that by *vigorous meaſures* were not intended ſuch wild attempts and romantic expeditions as might hazard the national honor and ſafety, without the poſſibility of advantage; that we were not called upon to ſquander millions, and ſtain the fields of the Continent with the blood of our countrymen, without being fully informed concerning the end and object of the war; that we were not to ſtand alone againſt the united power of the Houſe

of

of Bourbon, and ſacrifice our lives and fortunes for thoſe who will not endeavor to defend themſelves. " The true intereſt of England, my Lords, ſaid this Nobleman, is to be at peace with its neighbors; for peace is the parent of proſperity; and, when I find the Governors of a nation inclined to war, I am always ready to aſk them, by what mode of calculation they can compute the coſts, or aſcertain the conſequences; and I think it my duty to warn them againſt ſuch counſels as may precipitate their country into an abyſs of poverty and ruin. When I hear a propoſal for declaring war, I figure to myſelf a ſuſpenſion of commerce, a decay of wealth, an increaſe of taxes, a ſtate of impatience, anxiety, and diſcontent. Should the war prove unſucceſsful, the acrimony of revenge will ſtrongly incite us to the continuance of it. If it be proſperous, we ſhall be eaſily deluded into the imagination that the empty glitter of military glory is preferable to the plenty and tranquility of peace; and that we flouriſh as a nation when we adorn our public halls with the ſtandards and enſigns of Spain and France. To theſe general maxims, however, the conduct of the preſent Miniſters, ſaid his Lordſhip, may perhaps be cited as an exception; for, though the war with Spain is the only war deſired by the people, and the only war which it is their intereſt to proſecute, they who have aſſumed the management of our affairs appeared neither fired by revenge, nor irritated by diſgrace, at the loſſes and diſappointments we have ſuſtained in the progreſs of it. This war, ſo important to our commercial intereſts, only has been neglected—this alone has been forgotten. We have been told of the danger which may ariſe to the State from the boldneſs of political diſcuſſion—'*flagrante bello*;' but, my Lords, who does not ſee that the expreſſion is inapplicable, and that the noble Secretary ſhould have ſaid *languente bello?* Spain, weak and defenceleſs as ſhe is, laughs at our armaments, and perceives no other conſequence from our declaration of

war

war than a greater licenſe of plunder, and a more eaſy diſtribution of prizes."

The Miniſter, in a ſpeech of great ability and eloquence, attempted to defend the meaſures of his adminiſtration. "He called the attention of the Houſe to the ſtate of affairs on the Continent a few ſummers paſt, when the Empire was over-run by the arms of France; when the Queen of Hungary was attacked by Pruſſia on the one ſide, and Bavaria on the other; when, to ſecure her perſon from captivity, ſhe was compelled to abandon her capital, and her condition was conſidered as hopeleſs and irretrievable. To the powerful aſſiſtance of Great Britain alone is it owing, ſaid he, that the armies of France have been obliged, with diſgraceful precipitation, to evacuate the Empire; that her ally, the Emperor, is left, without ſuccour, a helpleſs ſpectator of the conqueſt of his hereditary dominions; and that Pruſſia is converted from a dangerous enemy into a firm friend and ally. Such had been the ſucceſs, and ſuch the conſequences, of the meaſures which he had recommended, and of which he now with confidence demanded the approbation and *vigorous ſupport* of that illuſtrious Aſſembly. Armies are only to be repelled by armies, and they who engage in war muſt reſolve to ſuſtain the calamities inſeparable from it. In the preſent conjuncture, no meaſures can be called wiſe or prudent which are not vigorous. By vigor only can the Houſe of Auſtria be reſtored, and by the reſtoration of the Houſe of Auſtria only can the balance of power be preſerved. That the war againſt Spain had been either negligently or unſucceſsfully proſecuted the Miniſter poſitively denied: at this moment we blockaded up both her fleets and her armies. It was known to all Europe that the Spaniſh Generals in Italy were continually embarraſſed and impeded in all their enterpriſes by the operations of the Britiſh fleet. And it is not, perhaps, eaſy to conceive a more deſtructive method of carrying on war than that of ſhutting up an army in

in an enemy's country, where it cannot be ſuccored, and from which it cannot be recalled; no proſpect remaining but that of periſhing by hardſhips and famine. But Spain is not the adverſary againſt which our force ought chiefly to be directed. There is an enemy nearer and more formidable—an enemy which, equally in war and peace, endeavors our deſtruction—an enemy ſo inſidious, that the utmoſt friendſhip which can ſubſiſt between us is only an intermiſſion of hoſtilities—an enemy whoſe perpetual object it is in all her deſigns and tranſactions, whether ſhe ratifies or violates treaties, whether ſhe offers mediation or foments diſcord, whether ſhe courts or inſults her neighbors, to weaken and depreſs all other powers, and to exalt herſelf to univerſal dominion. The ambition and pride of France, infatuated as that nation is with the glory of their monarch and the deſire of aggrandizing their empire, are permanent and hereditary. If one King dies, another ſucceeds to the ſame views; and if a Miniſter be removed, it is becauſe they hope the grand deſign of enſlaving the world will be more actively carried on by another. Againſt ſuch an enemy if it be neceſſary to make war, it is ſurely neceſſary to proſecute it with our utmoſt force; becauſe war is a calamity to which a deſirable and ſecure termination can be put only by ſucceſs, and ſucceſs is only to be obtained by vigor. It is yet, my Lords, happily in our power to check them in their career, and fix, it may be hoped, more laſting barriers of empire, which ſhall for ever deſtroy that thirſt of boundleſs dominion which has given ſo much diſturbance to mankind." Such were the glowing colors with which this eloquent Stateſman had the art to varniſh over the raſhneſs and abſurdity of his meaſures; and ſuch the arguments by which the Houſe was induced to give its ſanction to the propoſed addreſs.

A motion being made in the Houſe of Commons for the diſcharge of the Hanoverian mercenaries, Mr. Pitt contended, with much warmth, "that there exiſted no ne-

ceſſity of hiring auxiliary troops, ſince it had never been ſhewn that either juſtice or policy required us to engage in the quarrels of the Continent. The Miniſter, he ſaid, affected to ſpeak of the balance of power, the Pragmatic Sanction, the preſervation of the Queen of Hungary, as if England only were concerned in re-eſtabliſhing the Houſe of Auſtria in its former grandeur, and that the power of France were formidable to Great Britain alone. The King of England, no leſs in his electoral than his regal capacity, had guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction, and the troops hired by England were, no leſs than ourſelves, allies of the Queen of Hungary. Suppoſing the aſſiſtance granted ro the Queen of Hungary a matter of right and juſtice, due by ſolemn treaty, Hanover is equally bound with us to obſerve the terms of this treaty. Or, if it be an act of mere generoſity, why ſhould the Elector of Hanover diſplay his generoſity at the expence of the people of England? But the tranſactions of every year exhibited proofs of this *perfidious partiality*. Few of the Members of that Houſe, it might be preſumed, had forgotten the ever-memorable treaty, of which the tendency was diſcovered in the name—the treaty of Hanover; by which we diſunited ourſelves from Auſtria, deſtroyed that building which we may now endeavor in vain to raiſe again, and weakened the only power which it was our intereſt to ſtrengthen. He declared, in animadverting on that paragraph of the King's ſpeech which called the attention of Parliament to the late change of affairs in Europe, that we had indeed felt a remarkable change; from one extreme we had run to the utmoſt verge of another. Our former Miniſter betrayed the intereſt of his country by his puſillanimity; our preſent Miniſter ſacrificed it by his Quixotiſm. Inſtead of acceding to every treaty however diſhonorable, we now refuſe to liſten to any, however reaſonable. In other reſpects, the nation had experienced no change, notwithſtanding the change of a few individuals in the adminiſtration;

tion ; for the ſame prodigal, corrupt, adulatory ſpirit, ſtill pervaded all the departments of government. He affirmed, that we ought to have adviſed the Queen of Hungary to have accepted the terms of the King of Pruſſia, when he firſt invaded Sileſia : nay, we ought to have inſiſted on it, as the condition of our aſſiſting her againſt any of the other claimants. Had we done this, the Court of Vienna muſt have acceded to it ; the Queen of Hungary would have retained, in all human probability, firm poſſeſſion of her other dominions ; and the Duke of Lorraine would have been elevated to the imperial throne. Inſtead of this, we encouraged the Court of Vienna in its obſtinacy, and gave the Queen of Hungary reaſon to believe that we would ſupport her againſt all the world, though, when Hanover appeared to be in danger, we immediately abandoned the intereſts of Auſtria, and co-operated with France to exalt the Elector of Bavaria to the dignity of Emperor. The accommodation between Auſtria and Pruſſia, and the ſubſequent ſucceſſes of the Queen of Hungary, afforded us a fair opportunity of concluding the war. Peace was propoſed by the Emperor and France upon the moderate terms of *uti poſſidetis* ; but we were ſo far from adviſing the Queen of Hungary to accept, that there is good reaſon to believe we adviſed her not to accept, of the terms offered. Nothing now would ſatisfy us but the conqueſt of Alſace and Lorraine, to ſerve as an equivalent for Sileſia ; though a general jealouſy now prevailed of the ambitious deſigns of Auſtria, which would effectually preclude any effort on the part of the Princes of Germany in the proſecution of that romantic ſcheme. Deceived as the Queen of Hungary had before been, ſhe truſted, ſtrange as it may ſeem, a ſecond time to our deluſive promiſes ; though I will venture to propheſy that, whenever Hanover ſhall be a ſecond time endangered, ſhe will find herſelf a ſecond time deceived. The temerity of our counſels was equalled only by the timidity and feeble-

neſs of our operations. The whole campaign would have paſſed in ſupine inactivity, had not the French found an opportunity, through the miſconduct of our Generals, to attack us in a ſituation which expoſed our whole army, and the perſon of his Majeſty, to the moſt imminent hazard of captivity or deſtruction. Thank GOD! the courage of ſome of the French Generals ſo far exceeded the limits of diſcretion, as to cauſe them voluntarily to relinquiſh the advantage they poſſeſſed; and the whole French army, after ſuffering a ſevere repulſe, were compelled to retire with precipitation over the Maine: But, inſtead of purſuing a flying enemy, we haſtened our own retreat to Hanau, leaving our ſlain unburied on the field, and our wounded to the mercy of the enemy. This action may therefore, on our ſide, be called a *lucky eſcape*; but I ſhall never give my conſent to honor it with the name of a victory. When the French at length repaſſed the Rhine at the approach of Prince Charles of Lorraine, was any thing done by the allied army? I know of nothing but the exploit of ſending a party of huſſars into Lorraine with a manifeſto, though the Dutch auxiliaries had then joined our army. But had we been ſeconded by the whole power of Holland, inſtead of a ſmall detachment of their forces, the vaſt ſchemes we have formed would have been equally impracticable, and I ſhould only have lamented that this wiſe republic had become inſane through our example. I could wiſh eraſed from the annals and records of our hiſtory all mention of the famous treaty of Worms. By that deſtructive and ridiculous meaſure we have taken upon ourſelves a burden which it is impoſſible to ſupport; and we have involved ourſelves in the guilt of ſuch an act of injuſtice towards Genoa as muſt alarm all Europe, and give the French a ſignal advantage. From thence all Europe will ſee what regard we have to equity when we think we have power, and have ſhewn how much it is the general intereſt to prevent its increaſe. I hope, therefore,

we

we ſhall now ſee the neceſſity of putting a ſtop to the farther proſecution of theſe dangerous and ruinous projects. If we put a negative upon this queſtion, it may awaken Miniſters out of their deluſive dream; if we agree to it, they will dream on until they have dreamed Europe and their country, as well as themſelves, into perdition* "

The ſame queſtion which had been agitated with equal or greater warmth in the Houſe of Peers, was, in the courſe of the ſeſſion, renewed with a ſlight variation in point of form. And the Lords in oppoſition indulged themſelves in vehement, although hiſtoric impartiality muſt pronounce them for the moſt part captious and groundleſs, invectives againſt the conduct of theſe mercenaries, and the groſs partiality pretended to be ſhewn them on all occaſions. They were declared to be a burthen on the nation, equally hateful and ignominious, and more the objects of political deteſtation than the enemies againſt whom they were employed; and the whole ſyſtem of Continental and Hanoverian politics became again the theme of the ſevereſt animadverſion. The Earl of Halifax, a young Nobleman diſtinguiſhed by his political and perſonal accompliſhments, expreſſed, in warm and eloquent language, "his indignation that England ſhould be condemned to waſte the treaſure and the lives of its inhabitants in quarrels which either did not at all regard its intereſts, or regarded them only remotely and conſequenti-

* The characters of the two Miniſters, Walpole and Carteret, were contraſted by a political writer of this period with extraordinary felicity, in the following paſſage from Cicero, originally applied to Cæſar and Antony with his aſſociates:

"An vos eſtis ulla re cum eo comparandi? Fuit in illo ingenium, ratio, memoria, literæ, cura, cogitatio, diligentia. Multos annos regnare meditatus, magno labore quod cogitarat, effecerat: Muneribus, monumentis, congiariis, multitudinem imperatam delenierat, ſuos præmiis, adverſarios clementiæ ſpecie devinxerat—quid multa? attuleret jam liberæ civitati partim metu, partim patientia, conſuetudinem ſerviendi. Cum illo ego vos dominandi cupidine comparare poſſum, cæteris vero rebus nullo modo eſtis comparandi."

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ally. He declared himself unable to discover for what reason we, who were not principals in the war, and have no separate interest to promote, should hire mercenaries to carry it on, at an immense and intolerable expence. We are now contending, said this Nobleman, not for our rights and privileges—not for our persons, our liberty, or our property. We are attempting by force of arms to fix what the course of events is ever tending to unfix—the balance of Europe. The balance of Europe has a powerful and fascinating sound, which has been frequently employed to subject this nation to the oppressive exactions of foreign powers. When the people complain of the load of taxes, and the perpetual increase of burdens, of which they were never able to perceive any effect, or derive any advantage, they are stilled with the necessity of supporting the balance of Europe. When they cry aloud for justice against their domestic oppressors—when they demand that the deceivers and flatterers of the Prince should be brought to punishment—and the proper interests of the nation alone diligently and faithfully pursued—they are censured and stigmatized as wretches ignorant of the true interests of policy, and who have no regard to the balance of Europe. The folly and guilt of this conduct were not unknown during the last administration to the noble Lord who now assumes the direction of foreign affairs, and were reprobated by him with generous warmth and all the appearance of honest detestation. But we have often seen that opinions are variable with other human things. The system of the noble Lord is now entirely changed, and, to use the language of the medical *charlatan*, the heart is removed to the other side."

Lord Carteret, with his accustomed energy of language and plausibility of argument, entered into an elaborate defence of his ministerial conduct. He declared, "that a proposition to withdraw all our forces from the Continent, and, instead of courting danger in foreign countries, to

sleep

ſleep in ſecurity till we are awakened by an alarm upon our own coaſts, would be far leſs unreaſonable than the motion actually before the Houſe; for, doubtleſs, it is better to enjoy peace, however precarious, than to carry on a war with certainty of defeat, and to ruſh into the field of battle only to be overcome by the number of our enemies. Is it ſeriouſly meant that we are to neglect all the rules of war and all the maxims of policy, and to ſet our enemies at defiance, expecting aſſiſtance from cauſes inviſible or præternatural? The Lords who ſupport the motion muſt know, that a compliance with it would be virtually to yield up all for which WILLIAM and MARLBOROUGH fought—all which can ſecure our own independence or the liberties of the Continent. The topics enlarged upon by the noble Lords, of numerous armies and burthenſome expences, are ſuch as will always raiſe a declaimer high in the eſteem of the people, whoſe ſufferings he appears to compaſſionate, and whoſe cauſe he profeſſes to defend; and meaſures, however neceſſary and however juſt, *muſt* be unpopular for a time, of which the expence is immediate and the advantage diſtant. It is the opinion of ſome, that, from the nature of our ſituation, we may bid defiance to the reſt of mankind, and, from our rocks and floating caſtles, look with unconcern and tranquility upon all the commotions of the European kingdoms; but if any one monarchy has, by any means, ariſen to ſuch an height of grandeur as to make it juſtly formidable to the reſt of Europe, threatening the eventual ſubverſion of all the kingdoms on the Continent, ſurely Great Britain has more cogent reaſons than any other nation to endeavor the ſuppreſſion of ſuch a power, becauſe of all nations ſhe has moſt to loſe; and being fartheſt exalted above ſlavery, muſt feel proportionate pain from political depreſſion. But this purpoſe can be effected only by ſupporting on the Continent ſome power capable of oppoſing the ambitious projects of France; and it is univerſally admitted,

mitted, that the Houſe of Auſtria alone can be deemed of weight to be placed in the balance againſt the Houſe of Bourbon. If the Houſe of Auſtria is to be ſupported, we muſt ſubmit to the expence neceſſary for its ſupport. Nothing, therefore, can be more improper than this motion, unleſs it were intended that the cauſe of general liberty ſhould be inſtantly and totally abandoned, and that we ſhould ſubmiſſively conſign to France the fate of ourſelves and our poſterity. By the diſſeminations of falſehood and malignity the nation has been irritated, and diſcontent has, indeed, too generally prevailed: but, by the ſame arts, the ſame odium might and would have attended any other ſcheme; and the preſent clamor will, in a ſhort time, give way to the force of reaſon and truth. Upon a former occaſion, in which the neutrality of Hanover was the ſubject of diſcuſſion, I obſerved that, if England were to be ſteered by that Electorate, it were neceſſary that the rudder ſhould be ſeparated from the ſhip. This was then my opinion; for then, my Lords, England was ſubſervient to Hanover: but Hanover is now ſubſervient to England, and regulated by our meaſures; for who can doubt but a neutrality might have been eaſily obtained for that Electorate? But his Majeſty ſcorned to exempt himſelf from hazard, by countenancing the claims of ambition, and would not forbear to aſſiſt his ally only becauſe her diſtreſs was urgent, and her danger imminent. It is evident, upon the whole, then, my Lords, that the war has been conducted with wiſdom and ſucceſs—that the troops of Hanover were not retained but by the counſel and authority of the legiſlature—that they have been eminently uſeful in contributing to the expulſion of the armies of France—that, though objections more worthy of notice could be produced, thoſe troops cannot, at this juncture, be diſmiſſed, becauſe other troops cannot be obtained ſo ſoon as the exigencies of the war require."

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The queſtion was at length put, and the motion rejected by a majority of eighty-ſix Peers againſt forty-ſix: but a very ſtrong proteſt was ſigned by the minority, and the meaſure was manifeſtly carried in both Houſes by the influence of the Court, againſt the unanimous voice of the nation, which loudly exclaimed againſt the intereſted ambition and political apoſtacy of the Miniſter, who had now involved himſelf and his country too deeply in the quarrels of the Continent to be able to recede either with honor or with ſafety.

In the courſe of this important and intereſting ſeſſion, the Houſe of Commons, appriſed of the recent machinations of the Court of St. Germains, ſent up to the Lords a bill, making it high treaſon to correſpond with the ſons of the Pretender. On the commitment of this bill, the Lord Chancellor Hardwicke moved, that the committee be inſtructed to receive a clauſe for continuing the penalties and forfeitures legally incurred by the deſcendants of traitors, to the death of the ſons of the Pretender, and which, by the operation of an act paſſed in the reign of Queen Anne, expired with the Pretender himſelf. On which the Duke of Bedford aroſe, and, in a very able manner, ſtated his reaſons for refuſing his aſſent to the motion. "His Grace declared his zeal for the ſecurity of the Conſtitution, and of the ſettlement of the Crown in the preſent family, to be in no degree inferior to that of any of their Lordſhips: and he expreſſed his conviction that a Prince forced upon us by the armies and fleets of France would be only the viceroy of the Monarch to whom he owed his exaltation. Nevertheleſs, ſaid this Nobleman, your Lordſhips will not be ſurpriſed that I am alarmed at the proſpect of a law like this. I, whoſe family has ſuffered ſo lately the deprivation of its rank and fortune by the tyranny of a court—whoſe grand father was cut off by an unjuſt proſecution—and whoſe father was condemned for many years to ſee himſelf diveſted of the rights of his birth, which were at

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length reſtored to him by more equitable judges;—it is ſurely reaſonable, my Lords, that I ſhould oppoſe the extenſion of penalties to the deſcendants of offenders, who have ſcarce myſelf eſcaped the blaſt of an attainder*. Whatever may be the malice of our enemies, the ill ſucceſs of paſt attempts is a convincing proof that government can have no juſt cauſe of fear; that recourſe, therefore, need not be had to new degrees of ſeverity, or the enacting penal laws of an extraordinary kind, to prevent that which experience has ſhewn impoſſible to be accompliſhed. On the preſent occaſion, my Lords, the people have demonſtrated their loyalty by innumerable addreſſes from all parts, drawn up in terms expreſſive of the firmeſt fidelity and the warmeſt affection—profeſſions which ſurely deſerve far other return than the ſeverity of a penal law, by which one perſon is condemned to ſuffer for the crime of another. If it be neceſſary, my Lords, that ſubjects ſhould obey their governors, it is no leſs neceſſary that governors ſhould not haraſs their ſubjects by cauſeleſs ſuſpicion; for this will certainly tend to weaken their affections—it may incite them to violate their duties. The multiplicity of penal laws, the eſtabliſhment of armies, the diſtribution of penſions, are tranſitory and uncertain ſupports of govern-

* In the illuſtrious roll of martyrs to the cauſe of liberty, no name ſtands more conſpicuouſly diſtinguiſhed, or is written in fairer characters, than that of Lord RUSSEL, whoſe patriotiſm appears unſullied with any baſe alloy of perſonal reſentment or intereſt. In reply to thoſe ſophiſtical reaſons by which Burnet, afterwards Biſhop of Sarum, attempted to draw from this Nobleman an inglorious acknowledgment of culpability in meditating reſiſtance to tyranny, he made this excellent and memorable declaration—"That he could form no conception of a limited monarchy which had no right to defend its own limitations." So long as ſenſibility and gratitude are numbered amongſt the affections of the human heart, ſo long ſhall we honor with a ſupreme reverence thoſe who have dared to die for their country; and, with an almoſt ſuperſtitious devotion,

"Kiſs with joy the ſacred earth
That gave a HAMPDEN or a RUSSEL birth."

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ment, which the firſt blaſt of diſcontent may drive before it, and which have a tendency to produce that rage which they cannot furniſh the means of reſiſting. Ten thouſand penal laws cannot ſo much contribute to the eſtabliſhment of the preſent royal family as one act of confidence, condeſcenſion, or bounty, by which the affections of the people may be conciliated. We are not, my Lords, to appeaſe the ſuſpicions of the throne by ſacrificing the ſafety or happineſs of the people: we are, indeed, to ſupport our Sovereign, but not by ſuch means as to deſtroy the ends for which ſovereignty was eſtabliſhed—the public welfare and common ſecurity. How, then, can we aſſent to a meaſure which may involve thouſands in undeſerved miſery, by puniſhing them for crimes which they did not commit, and which it was not in their power to prevent—and inflicting penalties in order to enrich by forfeitures the minions of a court? But excluſive of theſe conſiderations, and to advert to an objection of a different nature, what evidence exiſts by which it can be aſcertained that there never will come a time, in which a ſuperſtitious, ambitious, or tyrannical Prince may once more attempt the ſubverſion of the rights and liberties of the kingdom? If, then a time ſo fatal ſhall ever arrive, and another revolution be neceſſary, how muſt a law like this damp the ardor of that patriotiſm by which all revolutions have been accompliſhed! Who will be found hardy enough to oppoſe the Crown, when not only himſelf but his whole poſterity are involved in the danger and ruin of a failure? We are to reflect, that the King may not only be in danger from his people, but that the people may be in danger from their King; and as, on the one hand, no privilege ſhould be conferred tending to the encouragement of popular ſedition; on the other, no prerogative ought to be endured which may incite to acts of royal oppreſſion. The dependence of the monarch and the ſubject ought to be on reciprocal affection and mutual aſſiſtance; and if I am deſi-

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rous of securing the throne, it is not by disarming the people, but by placing them as guards before it." The clause in question was also vigorously and eloquently opposed by the Lords Talbot, Chesterfield, and others—and defended by the Lords Carteret and Hardwicke, and Secker, Bishop of Oxford, though a measure flagrantly incompatible with the mild and benevolent spirit of Christianity. The question being put, it passed in the affirmative; but it was accompanied by a strong and animated protest.

The bill, when returned to the Commons with this new and unexpected clause, occasioned great dissatisfaction and opposition. Mr. Fazakerley, the original mover of the bill, expressed, in warm and indignant language, his detestation of the clause added by the Lords. "Forfeitures and confiscations, he said, he had always regarded as unjust, cruel, and of dangerous consequences to the liberties of a free people. As to the authority of Grotius and Puffendorf—which had been adduced in the course of an elaborate speech in defence of the amendment by the Attorney General, Sir Dudley Ryder—he said, they wrote in countries where forfeitures for treason had been established for ages, at a period far less enlightened than the present, when it would have been not only unusual but dangerous absolutely and explicitly to have condemned them, and an *indirect disapprobation* is easily discernible. At any rate, we are not blindly to resign our judgments either to the learned Grotius, or the learned Puffendorf. Still less satisfactory was the appeal made to the divine than to human authority in vindication of this law. It is certain that we find no such punishment inflicted by the law of Moses: and if David seized, as the learned Gentleman has affirmed to the House, upon the estate of Saul, this was certainly the *commission*, and not the *penalty*, of treason. As to the case of Mephibosheth, he was not so much as accused of treason, but of ingratitude; and the punishment inflicted upon him was the mere act of arbitrary power.

But

But admitting that the Kings of the Jews acted upon the principle of this iniquitous law, their example can be no authority; for Samuel had before warned the Jews of the oppreſſions they were to expect from Kings: he had told them that the King would take their fields, their vineyards, and their olive-trees, and give the beſt of them to his ſervants. The charge of treaſon was no doubt made uſe of to furniſh a pretext for theſe enormous injuries; and the experience of our own government may convince us what tyranny might be exerciſed under a veil ſo ſpecious. It will be alleged, perhaps, that this law, however inconſiſtent with humanity and juſtice, is neceſſary to the preſervation of the government; but is this the fact in the eaſtern countries, where puniſhments ſtill more horrid and barbarous are inflicted in caſes of this nature? Theſe unjuſt and odious penalties only ſerve to lull a government into a fatal ſecurity, and to embolden arbitrary Miniſters to tyrannize over the people, till, inflamed by repeated acts of oppreſſion, the train is ſet fire to, and the Miniſters, with their Maſter, are blown up by the combuſtibles which they had ſo aſſiduouſly prepared for the deſtruction of others." The Houſe, however, agreed to the amendment, by a majority of eighty voices; and a new proof was exhibited to the world of how little eſtimation, in the view of Princes, are all conſiderations of moral and political juſtice, when deemed incompatible with their intereſt or ſecurity.

This year, 1743, the Swedes terminated an unſucceſsful war with Ruſſia, by a peace ſigned at Abo, by which they were totally detached from their political connection with France. This event, ſo intimately affecting the general ſtate of politics in Europe, requires a diſtinct elucidation. At the death of the laſt Monarch of Sweden, the celebrated Charles XII. (A. D. 1718), who had governed with a ſway the moſt arbitrary and imperious, and whoſe raſh and romantic enterpriſes had reduced his country to the

verge

verge of ruin, Sweden found itſelf in a ſituation the moſt favorable for finally aboliſhing deſpotiſm, and eſtabliſhing a free and equal government on a ſolid and permanent baſis. A Diet being immediately convoked, the throne of Sweden was declared VACANT—Charles having died without iſſue, and the claim of his ſiſters to the ſucceſſion being barred, conformably to a fundamental law of the kingdom, by their previous marriage. The States, therefore, determined to make an offer of the crown to Ulrica Eleanora, conſort of Frederic, hereditary Prince of Heſſe Caſſel, ſubſequently aſſociated in the government, to the excluſion of the Duke of Holſtein, ſon of the elder ſiſter, on the expreſs condition that this Princeſs ſhould declare her readineſs to hold the crown in virtue of a FREE ELECTION; and ſhould take an oath to adhere to the new *formula* or model of government, now, by the authority of the nation, ſolemnly inſtituted. "The Counſellors and States of the kingdom aſſembled, having, as they expreſs themſelves, experienced the ſad conſequences of that arbitrary power which has ſo much weakened and injured the kingdom, to the almoſt irreparable ruin of us all, have ſeriouſly and unanimouſly reſolved to aboliſh entirely a power which has proved ſo prejudicial." It is to be remarked that the Diet, or States General of the kingdom of Sweden, conſiſts of four diſtinct chambers or houſes—the Nobles, the Clergy, the Burghers, the Peaſants. Theſe, agreeably to the conſtitution now eſtabliſhed, were to be convoked every three years, or more frequently if occaſion required. And ſhould the King, or Senate in his abſence, neglect to aſſemble them at the expiration of this term, or even ſhould they not convoke them on the very day the States had, the laſt time they were aſſembled, choſen to appoint for their next meeting, theſe ſhould then have a right to aſſemble of themſelves. And whatever the King or Senate ſhould have done in the mean time, was to be conſidered as void. The time ſpecified for the ſhorteſt legal duration of the

Diet

Diet was three months; but the power of diſſolution was veſted in themſelves alone. While the States were aſſembled, they were in fact poſſeſſed of the whole ſupreme power; the authority of the King and Senate was then ſuſpended—they became mere cyphers, having little or no ſhare in the public tranſactions but what conſiſted ſimply in affixing their ſeals and ſignatures to whatever the Diet ſhould think proper to reſolve. The legiſlative power the States reſerved at all times wholly to themſelves, the King and the Senate not even poſſeſſing a negative on thoſe reſolutions which directly attacked the regal and ſenatorial rights. "For the preſervation of theſe, it is remarked with juſt deriſion*, they were to depend on the MODERATION OF A POPULAR ASSEMBLY." The following powers were likewiſe veſted in the States alone: Thoſe of declaring war or making peace—that of altering the ſtandard of the coin—whenever a vacancy happened in the Senate, that of preſenting to the King three perſons, one of whom his Majeſty was bound to make choice of to fill the vacant office—laſtly, that of diſmiſſing any member of the Senate whoſe conduct they diſapproved. During the ſeſſion of the Diet, a ſtanding ſecret committee was choſen, ſelected from the three orders of Nobles, Clergy, and Burghers, of which one half were Nobles—the order of Peaſants being too mean and inſignificant to be aſſociated in this commiſſion—by which the ordinary functions of the Senate were almoſt entirely ſuperſeded, and the executive powers of the government excluſively exerciſed. With regard to the judicial power the States aſſumed to themſelves a right of exerciſing that alſo, whenever they thought proper, by taking at pleaſure cauſes out of the high courts of juſtice eſtabliſhed by law, to try them before a temporary tribunal erected by themſelves, and compoſed of their own members. Nothing, therefore, could be more formidable than

* Vide Hiſtory of the Swediſh Revolution, A. D. 1772, by Charles F. Sheridan, Eſq.

the

the power of this aſſembly, or more ſubverſive of liberty; as, in reality, it united within itſelf the legiſlative, judicial, and executive powers—and as the province and juriſdiction of the occaſional tribunal comprehended all cafes of treaſon, ſedition, and public libel, it was evidently, at the ſame time, both judge and party. Even during the intervals of the Diets, the King was little more than a cypher of ſtate, and was diſtinguiſhed from the other Senators, conſiſting of fourteen in number, only by the privilege of a double voice in the firſt inſtance, and of a caſting vote in caſe of an equality of voices. The Senate were empowered to aſſemble themſelves whenever they thought proper, and to tranſact the national buſineſs whether the King were preſent or not; and to their reſolutions his Majeſty was obliged to affix his ſignature. The great employments of the State were conferred by a majority of voices in the Senate; and to others of inferior importance three perſons were nominated by the Senate, one of whom the King was obliged to appoint. Thus the outward pomp and decorations of Majeſty were almoſt all that remained of a prerogative lately ſo formidable: but a more recent experience ſoon taught the Swedes that political oppreſſion might exiſt under a variety of forms, and that the liberty of the people was not neceſſarily increaſed in proportion as the power of the Monarch was diminiſhed; and the ſcenes of corruption, diſtraction, and anarchy, which enſued, were the moſt deciſive proofs of the numerous and radical defects of the new *formula* of government. When compared with the Britiſh conſtitution, the prodigious ſuperiority of the latter is manifeſt in almoſt every point of view in which they can be placed—their whole ſtructure, genius, and ſpirit forming a moſt inſtructive and ſtriking contraſt. In England, the Crown is veſted by the conſtitution with the whole active power of government, ſubject to the authoritative inſpection and control of Parliament; and it is alſo poſſeſſed, by means of its extenſive patronage, of that degree

degree of influence over the legiſlative body which muſt not only preclude the idea of foreign intrigue and interference; but of that ſpecies of oppoſition which ariſes from the natural and inceſſant deſire of aggrandizement, the intereſts of the individual members being oppoſed to the aggregate intereſt of the body—the negative of the King and the power of diſſolution coming likewiſe in aid of that prerogative which is at once ſo open to the attack, and ſo unequal to the encounter. On the other hand, the conſtitutional powers of Parliament, and its component principles, are ſuch as eminently to qualify it for its province of legiſlation and control. The Houſe of Commons is inveſted with the ſole diſpoſal of the national revenue, which, of itſelf, gives it a decided preponderance over the other, and, with reſpect to rank, the higher branch of the legiſlature. The Commons of England are not, like the Commons of Sweden, divided into diſtinct chambers, by which their collective force is ſenſibly enfeebled. The Engliſh Houſe of Commons likewiſe contains a much greater combination of intereſts than, in conſequence of the abſurd reſtraints on the freedom of election, can take place in Sweden; where the burghers and peaſants muſt be actually of the ſeveral claſſes of the community which they repreſent. Alſo, in Sweden all the privileges of the Nobility, that of ſitting in the Diet excepted, extending to all the deſcendants of Nobles, a vaſt proportion of the landed property of the kingdom, and almoſt all the military and civil offices, are confined to that privileged claſs: the ariſtocratic branch of the legiſlature, ſupported by this immenſe chain of connections and dependencies, riſing far above all competition: whereas, in England, the deſcendants of the Nobility, the heirs of the title only excepted, are immediately blended with the general maſs of the community, and their political intereſts ſtand conſequently in unavoidable and direct oppoſition to thoſe of their neareſt relatives, as compoſing a diſtinct and privileged order. Thus the Nobles of Eng-

land are placed in that preciſe rank which properly belongs to the moſt illuſtrious order of citizens in a free and well-governed community. Inveſted with the higheſt dignity, though not the higheſt power, of the State, they compoſe an hereditary Senate, peculiarly qualified, from that diſſimilarity of views and intereſts by which, as a diſtinct branch of the legiſlature, they muſt be neceſſarily actuated, for the province of reviſion, and reſiſtance to ambitious or inſidious innovation—ſtanding as a perpetual barrier againſt all attempts to encroach upon the conſtitutional prerogative of the Crown, upon which they depend as the firmeſt baſis of their own authority. For the weight of the democracy in the Engliſh conſtitution is ſuch, as to preclude the ariſtocracy from the fainteſt hope of ſucceſs in any conteſt for pre-eminence which might ſucceed the eventual reduction or annihilation of the regal power. It cannot certainly be pretended, that the progreſſive improvement of former ages, or even the important and beneficial changes which took place at the Revolution, were the reſult of any comprehenſive abſtract ſpeculation; they were ſuch as the emergency of the occaſion rendered obvious and neceſſary; and we ſpeak of the wiſdom of the conſtitution, not with a reference to the ſpeculative ſagacity of individuals, but to the practical advantages and firm contexture of a form of government finiſhed, undoubtedly, more through happineſs than pains. It is true, indeed, that, through the groſs inequality of the preſent ſyſtem of repreſentation, deſtined doubtleſs, if Liberty ſurvive, to undergo a radical reform, a degree of influence is exerted by the executive power over the legiſlative, inconſiſtent with the true ſpirit of the conſtitution, and productive of the moſt injurious effects. Under ſuch a government as that eſtabliſhed in Sweden, it can excite no aſtoniſhment that the intrigues of foreign courts ſhould very powerfully and ſenſibly operate. In fact, from the æra of that eſtabliſhment, all the apparently weak and capricious

tranſactions

tranſactions of this kingdom were guided ſolely by the predominance of the different political factions, the violent and malignant conflicts of which were excited and perpetuated by the moſt ſhameful corruption, univerſally practiſed, and almoſt openly avowed. The whole power of the State virtually reſting in the hands of the Nobles, no advance was made, or deſign entertained, to extend to the nation at large the bleſſings of civil liberty. And the people feeling themſelves in no degree relieved from the oppreſſion of the ancient government, notwithſtanding the ſyſtem of political liberty recently eſtabliſhed—of the excellence of which they heard indeed much, but comprehended little—were loud in their complaints of the miſconduct and tyranny of their rulers. The fixed policy of the leading men originally concerned in framing the new form of government*, who were perſons of virtue and probity, and, in all probability, far from being ſenſible of its imperfections, was, to renounce all ambition of foreign conqueſts, and aſſiduouſly to cultivate the friendſhip of Ruſſia, the ſuperiority of whoſe power they had ſo fatally experienced. And the influence of Ruſſia continued, with little interruption, to predominate in their councils till the meeting of the Diet in 1738, when, through the profuſion of French gold previouſly diſtributed amongſt its members, a great majority appeared determined to abandon the alliance of Ruſſia, and to enter into a ſtrict connection with the Court of Verſailles; which flattered them with the chimerical hope of recovering, by a rupture with the Court of St. Peterſburgh, their long-loſt provinces. And, at the inſtance of the French Miniſter, war was actually declared by Sweden againſt Ruſſia, without any juſt reaſons, or even plauſible pretences; the real motive on the

* Count Horne is ſaid to have been the perſon principally concerned in the eſtabliſhment of this conſtitution—a Nobleman of unqueſtionable abilities and integrity.

part of France being, as the Queen of Hungary obſerved in her manifeſto, to prevent the Czarina from interpoſing in the affairs of the Empire. This unjuſt and impolitic war was undertaken by Sweden at a time when the armies of Ruſſia were returning triumphant from the Turkiſh campaigns; and the ſucceſs was ſuch as might be reaſonably expected. The Swediſh army in Finland was deſtroyed, and the whole of that country loſt. The Generals Lewenhaupt and Buddenbroek were ſacrificed to the fury of a faction. The government of Sweden, alarmed at the rapid progreſs of the Ruſſians, were compelled to ſolicit a peace, which was granted upon very moderate terms, Ruſſia reſtoring the whole of her conqueſts, a ſmall diſtrict to the eaſtward of the Kymen only excepted. And, in return, the Swedes renewed their alliance with Ruſſia, and agreed to appoint Adolphus Frederic, Biſhop of Lubec, a Prince of the Houſe of Holſtein, nearly related to the Empreſs Elizabeth, ſucceſſor to the preſent King; the young Duke of Holſtein, grandſon of the elder ſiſter of Ulrica, being deſtined to the ſucceſſion of Ruſſia, as nephew to the Empreſs, on his previous and formal renunciation of all claim to the Crown of Sweden. In alluſion to this tranſaction, as likewiſe to the late diſpoſition of the Crown of Poland, the Imperial Ambaſſador at Peterſburg obſerved to the Empreſs, "that he wiſhed his Court had found it as eaſy to keep poſſeſſion of kingdoms as it was to Ruſſia to give them away."

Though France had thus, by the perfidy of her own policy, loſt one uſeful ally, ſhe made vigorous efforts to indemnify herſelf by the acquiſition of another—the contiguous kingdom of Denmark. From the memorable æra in which the Danes made a voluntary ſurrender of their ancient liberties to the Monarch, the Kings of Denmark had been poſſeſſed of authority not inferior to that of any Sovereigns in Chriſtendom; and the want of ability, rather than of inclination, had ſince prevented them from making

more conſpicuous figure in the general hiſtory of Europe; as they never appeared reluctant or ſcrupulous in embracing any favorable opportunity of aggrandizement. Chriſtiern V. who acceded to the throne A. D. 1670, waged unſucceſsful war with the Swedes, in the vain hope of recovering the beautiful provinces of Halland, Schonen, and Bleking, loſt by his father Frederic III. and ceded to Sweden by the treaty of Roſchild, 1658. Chriſtiern dying in 1699 was ſucceeded by his ſon Frederic IV. who joined the confederacy againſt Charles XII. was beſieged by that Monarch in his capital, and compelled to ſubmit to the terms dictated by Sweden, under the mediation of England and Holland, at the treaty of Travendahl. After the decline of that Monarch's fortunes, Frederic renewed the war, and ſeized upon the Duchies of Bremen, Verden, and Sleſwic, the latter of which was guaranteed to Denmark by King George I. in return for the ceſſion of the two former to Hanover. This Monarch dying A. D. 1730 was ſucceeded by Chriſtiern VI. a ſagacious and pacific Prince, who aſpired, nevertheleſs, when the ſucceſſion to the throne of Sweden was vacant, to revive the ancient and celebrated union of Calmar; and to combine, by an indiſſoluble federation, the three Scandinavian kingdoms into one empire, under one head, in the perſon of his ſon. Flattered with the aid and aſſiſtance of France in the accompliſhment of this great object of his ambition, he relinquiſhed, at this period, the alliance, and refuſed the ſubſidies, of Great Britain, in order to connect himſelf with that rival power. But notwithſtanding that the idea of this union was very popular in Sweden, and was ſupported by a very ſtrong party in the Diet, the oppoſing politics of Ruſſia proved finally ſucceſsful; and the King of Denmark had the good ſenſe to deſiſt from the farther proſecution of a project which was become too hazardous to attempt to enforce, although great military preparations had been made for that purpoſe. But the Czarina declared, that,

that, if the Swedes were attacked, ſhe would aſſiſt them with the whole force of her empire. The good underſtanding between Denmark and Great Britain was, immediately on the relinquiſhment of this viſionary ſcheme, reſtored and cemented by the marriage of Frederic, Prince Royal of Denmark, with Louiſa, youngeſt daughter of his Britannic Majeſty, which took place towards the concluſion of the preſent year. The King of Denmark ſurvived this alliance, which was productive of general ſatisfaction to the inhabitants of both kingdoms, little more than two years. The Princeſs Mary, third daughter to the King of England, had, at a period ſomewhat anterior to the events now related, been married to Frederic, Prince of Heſſe Caſſel, nephew to the King of Sweden, and preſumptive heir to the Landgraviate.

At this time Admiral Matthews commanded with high reputation the Britiſh Naval force in the Mediterranean. The Corſicans having revolted from the dominion of Genoa, and elected a German adventurer as their Sovereign, by the name of King Theodore, were ſupported and encouraged by this Commander, in revenge for the partiality ſhewn by the Genoeſe to the French and Spaniſh arms in Italy; though theſe brave iſlanders were, in the ſequel, forgotten and abandoned to their fate. Stores having been landed at Civita Vecchia for the uſe of the Spaniſh army under the Count de Gages, the Britiſh Admiral declared it to be a violation of the neutrality profeſſed by his Holineſs the POPE, and threatened a bombardment of that city; but deſiſted in conſequence of the interpoſition of his Sardinian Majeſty. The commerce of France and Spain was interrupted, many prizes made, their coaſts kept in continual alarm, and the combined ſquadrons of the two powers were blocked up for ſeveral ſucceſſive months in the harbor of Toulon. On the ninth of February 1744, they were at laſt perceived ſtanding out of the road, to the number of four-and-thirty ſail of the line. The Britiſh Admiral

miral immediately weighed, and an engagement enſued, which notwithſtanding the great ſuperiority of the Britiſh fleet, proved extremely indeciſive ; and which was afterwards the ſubject of much and vehement debate and diſcuſſion. It is admitted that Matthews behaved with heroic gallantry ; but he was very ill ſeconded by ſome of his officers, particularly by Admiral Leſtock, who with his whole diviſion, remained at a great diſtance aſtern. It is not pretended that this officer was really deficient in courage ; but he had long been upon very ill terms with his Commander, whom he affected to deſpiſe, and whoſe ſignals on the day of battle he affirmed to be unintelligible and inconſiſtent—ſheltering himſelf behind thoſe rigid rules of diſcipline, againſt which, in the criſis of danger, it is often the higheſt merit glorioufly to offend. Admiral Matthews, on his arrival at Minorca, ſuſpended Leſtock for diſobedience, and ſent him as a priſoner to England, where he, in return, accuſed, and recriminated upon his ſuperior. Theſe proceedings became the ſubject of parliamentary inveſtigation ; and a court-martial was appointed to try the delinquents. It appears that the object of De Court, the French Commander, whoſe ſhips greatly outſailed thoſe of the Britiſh ſquadron, being to avoid an engagement, the Engliſh Commander was compelled to commence the attack before the line was completely formed ; and he directed his principal effort againſt the Spaniſh diviſion, which failing in the rear of the French, and at ſome diſtance, he endeavored to cut off—being himſelf, in the Namur, cloſely engaged with the Spaniſh Admiral Don Navarro, in the Royal Philip, an immenſe ſhip of one hundred and fourteen guns. Admiral Leſtock was, at this time, five miles aſtern, ſuffering by an obſtinate adherence to the ſignal for the line of battle, then flying at the ſame time with the ſignal for a cloſe engagement, the rearmoſt ſhips of the Spaniſh ſquadron to paſs him : on which Admiral Matthews, though bravely ſeconded by Captain Cornewall,

Cornewall, in the Marlborough, who glorioufly fell in the action, and other ſhips of his own diviſion, was obliged to relinquiſh his prey at a moment when he flattered himſelf that ſhe could not have eſcaped him, being, as he affirms in his public letter, "within muſket ſhot of the Royal Philip, then lying a mere wreck, when the ſternmoſt ſhips of the enemy came up and tore him to pieces." In the reſult, Admiral Leſtock, to the general ſurpriſe and indignation, was honorably acquitted, and Admiral Matthews declared incapable of ſerving for the future in his Majeſty's navy. The King himſelf, who was perſonally brave, and a lover of the brave, is ſaid to have expreſſed, in warm terms, his diſapprobation of this deciſion. And, when an elaborate technical vindication of the ſentence of the court-martial was offered, he indignantly replied, "that he knew but little of naval phraſeology; but this, ſaid his Majeſty, I know, that Matthews did fight, and that Leſtock did not."

In July, Sir John Balchen, an officer of great merit, ſailed from Spithead with a ſtrong ſquadron, in queſt of a French fleet expected to depart about this time from the harbor of Breſt. In the Bay of Biſcay he encountered a violent ſtorm, by which the fleet was entirely ſcattered, and the Admiral's own ſhip, the Victory, a new and beautiful firſt-rate, with eleven hundred men on board, foundered at ſea, near the rocks of Alderney; and the whole crew, with all the officers and their commander, moſt unfortunately periſhed.

Another revolution about this period (November 1744) took place in the Britiſh cabinet. Lord Carteret, now become Earl of Granville, had inſinuated himſelf ſo far into the good graces of his Sovereign as to excite, in a very high degree, the apprehenſion and diſlike of the Duke of Newcaſtle and his brother, Mr. Pelham, who ſecretly intrigued with the popular leaders in Parliament to effect the downfall of this ambitious and haughty Miniſ-

ter,

ter, whoſe power they envied, and whoſe talents they feared. The Earl, comprehending the nature and extent of the combination againſt him, and ſenſible of his own unpopularity, heightened by the ill ſucceſs of the war, avoided the conflict by a voluntary reſignation of his employments, in which he was followed by Mr. Sandys, created Lord Sandys, and various others. Mr. Pelham, who, on the death of Lord Wilmington, had ſucceeded to the direction of the Board of Treaſury, was now nominated Chancellor of the Exchequer, and may be conſidered from this period as firſt Miniſter. The Earl of Cheſterfield was appointed to the government of Ireland, the Duke of Bedford placed at the head of the Admiralty, the Lords Gower and Cobham reinſtated in their former poſts, and, after an interval of delay and reluctance on the part of the Court, Mr. Pitt conſtituted Paymaſter of the Forces, and ſworn a member of the Privy Council. Several of the Tories were admitted to offices in conſequence of this coalition of parties; and Sir John Hynde Cotton and Sir John Philips, thoſe moroſe and turbulent patriots, were—for a time of ſhort duration indeed, "a little month"—tranſformed into courtiers and placemen. The Parliament met in December (1744), and it ſoon appeared that the reſult of the late changes was by no means unfavorable to the views of the Court; for the ſame ſyſtem was purſued with leſs difficulty and interruption: and the patriots ſtill in oppoſition, wearied with long and uſeleſs exertion, ſeemed at length to acquieſce in meaſures which the nation at large, now roufed into paſſionate reſentment againſt France, and admiration of the courage and fortitude of the Queen of Hungary, began to regard with partiality and approbation. And the unremitted efforts of thirty years, efforts which had produced ſuch ſignal diſplays of knowledge, virtue, and eloquence, ingloriouſly terminated in the ancient maxim—"Si populus vult decipi, decipiatur." As the laſt ſtruggle of expiring patriotiſm, however, the Houſe

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was moved, January 1745, that an act made in the fourth year of Edward III. entitled—"a parliament shall be holden once every year," and also that an act made in thirty-sixth year of the reign of King Edward III. entitled—"A parliament shall be holden once every year," shall be read; and the acts being read accordingly, Mr. Carew* arose, and declared his determination to bring to a DECISIVE TEST the sincerity of those professions which the Ministers of the Crown recently appointed to their offices had, for so many successive years, accustomed themselves to repeat within the walls of that House; and, from the fate of the question he was about to propose, a judgment might be formed whether the present Ministers themselves merited those severe appellations which they had so lavishly bestowed upon their predecessors. It was not enough, he said, for the satisfaction of the impartial and intelligent

* This member, in a subsequent session of the present Parliament, moved an address to the King, that he would be pleased to order a monument to be erected in Westminster Abbey to the memory of the gallant Captain Cornewall, who lost his life in the engagement off Toulon; which being unanimously carried, Velters Cornewall, brother to the deceased, rose "to express the pride and satisfaction he felt on this occasion; more particularly as the motion originated with one of the most able, upright, and disinterested patriots who had ever sat in that House." We may, therefore, fairly presume, that the speech of Mr. Carew does not contain words of empty sound, intended for the mere purpose of embarrassing the administration, but that it exhibits the real sentiments of his understanding, and the genuine feelings of his heart. And it may be remarked, that the value and utility of exertions of this nature are not to be estimated by the advantage they *immediately* produce. Mr. Carew and Mr. Sydenham yet speak in history; nor will it ultimately be found that such men speak in vain. In our own times, the orations of Mr. Fox in support of his several motions for the repeal of the test and penal statutes, were negatived by great majorities; but are these generous efforts in the cause of truth and liberty therefore lost? No—doubtless they will produce their effect at the destined period on minds more susceptible of improvement, and less under the dominion of prejudice——

"When Statesmen, Heroes, Kings, in dust repose,
Whose sons shall blush their fathers were his foes."

public,

public, that the new Miniſters ſhould give a ſimple aſſent to the motion he had in contemplation ; for, if they had coaleſced with perſons whoſe influence was, upon trial, found ſufficiently powerful to defeat all efforts of political reform, it was incumbent upon them immediately to relinquiſh thoſe offices which they had ſo precipitately accepted, without any ſtipulations in favor of the public ; and unreſervedly to declare againſt thoſe with whom they had ſo raſhly united. Amongſt the topics moſt frequently inſiſted upon by the preſent Miniſters, when in oppoſition to the Court, was the neceſſity of counteracting the baleful effects of miniſterial corruption, which they then ſeemed to think, and he hoped they ſtill thought, could by no means ſo effectually be done as by a reſtoration of the ancient conſtitution of Parliament, agreeably to which, the Houſe would perceive, by the acts now read, that Parliaments were to be holden once every year. And as long prorogations and adjournments were not then introduced or thought of, the meaning of this famous law muſt be, that a Parliament ſhould be every year choſen as well as held. And this is a conſtitution not only ſanctioned by ancient practice, but by the unalterable dictates of reaſon. In order that the repreſentation of a great nation may be perfectly acquainted with the ſtate of its wiſhes, wants, and grievances, it is neceſſary that there ſhould be an intimate and habitual communication between them and their conſtituents. But, when Gentlemen are choſen for a term of years, they too frequently, on their election, appear at once to relinquiſh the character and feelings of delegates ; they fix their abode in the metropolis, and viſit their conſtituents only when it becomes neceſſary to ſolicit their votes at the eve of a new election. Nay, ſuch was the degraded and corrupt ſtate into which the national repreſentation had fallen ſince the eſtabliſhment of Septennial Parliaments, that there were Gentlemen in that Houſe who never ſaw the borough which ſent them thither ;

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who, perhaps, would be at a loss even to recollect its name; and who were obliged to have recourse to the Court Calendar to inform them of whom they were the representatives. It was the peculiar and proper province of the House of Commons, he said, to convey to the Sovereign the sentiments of the nation, both with respect to the measures he adopts, and the Ministers he employs. But could this duty be justly or faithfully executed, when there is no proper intercourse established between those who represent and those who are represented? The interests of the Prince and of the People cannot really and truly differ; he can only be great in their greatness, and prosperous in their prosperity. But the general interest of the People, and the personal interest of the Ministers, may very essentially differ; they may have no other ends in view than to impoverish and enslave the People, in order to enrich and aggrandize themselves: and during a long term of delegation, how easy will it ever be for artful and designing men to misrepresent the sentiments of the People to the Sovereign, and to pervert, by sinister and corrupt practices, the integrity of those persons whose duty it is, and who are expressly appointed, to guard the liberties, and protect the rights of the community? Properly speaking, Mr. Carew said, the House of Commons were no more than the attornies of the People: and is it reasonable that any man should be entrusted with a power of attorney irrevocable for a long term of years? Shall a whole People do that which would be the height of foolishness in every individual? Who can depend upon the continuance of any man's integrity? But the Septennial Bill was passed for the purpose of compelling the people to give an irrevocable power of attorney for that term. The practice of long Parliaments was first introduced in the reign of Richard II. when the interests of the country were sacrificed by wicked Ministers, to gratify the violent passions of the Monarch. But what was the result? The discontents and

murmurs

murmurs of the People, so carefully concealed from the knowledge of the King, at last produced an universal convulsion, which terminated in his ruin, and in the advancement of the Duke of Lancaster to the throne, without any other title than that of having rescued the People from slavery. This was the fate of the Prince who first introduced long Parliaments; but so long as a corrupt majority may be more easily obtained in a long than a short Parliament, so long will it be the interest of Ministers to oppose any limitation of the duration of Parliaments, though the interests both of the Monarch and the People ever so manifestly require it. If Septennial Parliaments be continued in this country, the Minister's letters of recommendation may, in time, be as implicitly obeyed in our counties, cities, and boroughs, as the King's *congé d'élire* is now in the chapters of our episcopal cathedrals. But will any one assert, that we should then have the slightest pretence to the character of a free nation? No—we should be slaves; God knows to whom—not, it may be hoped, to a Minister from HANOVER; though it is hard to say what a corrupt Parliament may not attempt, or to what a corrupt nation may not submit. To prevent however, as far as my exertions can contribute to the prevention of such a catastrophe, I shall conclude with moving for leave to bring in a Bill to enforce the calling of a new Parliament every year after the expiration of this present Parliament."

This motion was very ably seconded by Mr. Sydenham, in an interesting speech, of which a concise epitome only must suffice. This Gentleman began by observing, "that he must take it for granted that every member of that House must be conscious of the necessity of adopting measures of some kind for preventing, or, at least, diminishing the extent and effect of ministerial corruption. And, of all the measures that could be devised, none would be found so effectual as the restoration of annual

nual Parliaments. To the fatal introduction of long Parliaments, and their concomitant evils, he aſcribed, in a great meaſure, that remarkable change in the manners and morals of the people at large, which had of late years taken place in this country. Formerly the higher claſſes among us were diſtinguiſhed for generoſity and hoſpitality, and thoſe of inferior rank for honeſty, frugality, and induſtry. But theſe virtues are in danger of being utterly extinguiſhed by the prevalence of political corruption. No ſooner did Miniſters begin to ſolicit the votes, inſtead of convincing the underſtandings of the Members of Parliament—no ſooner were rewards laviſhed on thoſe who complied with thoſe ſolicitations, than the public order was diſturbed by violent competitions at elections. Voters began to claim a merit with thoſe to whom they gave their vote: the regular channel through which honors and preferments flowed was perverted,, and the intereſt of the country was ſacrificed for the ſake of promoting thoſe who had the chief intereſts in elections. Even in our army and navy, of late years, this has appeared to be the beſt qualification for entitling a man to preferment. We muſt, therefore, demoliſh from the foundation this fabric of corruption; we muſt render it impoſſible for a Miniſter to expect to gain a majority in Parliament, or at elections, either by bribery, or by a partial diſtribution of places and preferments. I ſay, we muſt do this, if we intend to reſtore that ſpirit by which our anceſtors preſerved their liberties, and gained ſo much glory to their country. And, for this purpoſe, nothing can be ſo effectual as the reſtoration of annual Parliaments. Then may we hope to ſee that ſimplicity, generoſity, and hoſpitality of manners revived, which is now no more. For I hope it will not be called generoſity to give a voter, by expreſs bargain, five or ten guineas for his vote; or hoſpitality, to make a county or borough drunk once in ſeven years, by way of preparation for an enſuing

enſuing election. When a Gentleman perceives that the favor of his countrymen muſt be purchaſed, not won, he contracts his domeſtic to provide for his election expences; and, if he ſucceeds, he retires with his family to London, certain of his ſeat for ſeven years, and reſolving ſo to regulate his conduct in Parliament as may ſecure his future indemnification. This change of a country life into a town life has been attended with unſpeakable inconveniencies. A man of fortune who reſides in London may, in operas, routs, aſſemblies, French wines, and Italian muſicians, expend as much yearly as may ſuffice to maintain his rank in the moſt hoſpitable ſtyle of ancient liberality at his ſeat in the country. But will it be pretended that the money ſo expended is of equal advantage to the community? that the ſame charity is extended to the indigent, the ſame employment to the induſtrious? Annual Parliaments would undoubtedly produce a mighty alteration of national manners in this reſpect. They would make conſtant reſidence and a conſtant inter-communication of kind offices neceſſary; they would preſerve the honeſty of our people, by removing the means of temptation; for no candidate would then be at the expence of corrupting, eſpecially as he could not expect to be repaid, by being himſelf corrupted by the Miniſter after he is choſen. Annual Parliaments will demoliſh the market of corruption. Miniſters will not corrupt when corruption can be of no avail; and, though conteſts may occaſionally take place, the magnitude of the object will not be ſuch as to occaſion either venality or violence. If, therefore, we cheriſh a laudable ambition to reſtore the practice of thoſe virtues for which our anceſtors were ſo conſpicuous, and by which they handed down to us riches, renown, and liberty, we muſt reſtore the conſtitution of having Parliaments not only annually held, but annually choſen. It was a regulation *reſtored* and eſtabliſhed by one of the greateſt and wiſeſt Princes that ever ſwayed the ſceptre of this

this kingdom. The Bill paſſed in the fourth year of the reign of this Monarch (Edward III.) was indeed evaded by the *ingenuity* of the lawyers. The words of the act were theſe—'A Parliament ſhall be holden once a-year, and oftener if need be.' The lawyers maintained that the words 'if need be' related to the firſt part of the law as well as the ſecond; *i. e.* that a Parliament ſhall be held once a-year if need be, or oftener if need be; a conſtruction which rendered the act itſelf wholly nugatory. In the thirty-ſixth year of the reign of the ſame Monarch, therefore, a new law was paſſed, by which it was enacted, without any reſerve or limitation, 'that a parliament ſhall be holden every year.' This ſet the invention of the lawyers again at work, in order to find a new evaſion; and, in the next reign, the practice of prorogation was introduced. Every ſeſſion of Parliament was declared to be a Parliament, and the liberties of the nation were ſacrificed by a Parliament corruptly choſen and illegally continued. Should this now be attempted, it will be found very difficult, if not impoſſible, to reſcue them by force of arms, as was done in the reign of Richard II.; for the crown has now a regular diſciplined army to ſupport its encroachments, and the People have neither arms nor diſcipline to oppoſe to ſuch a King and ſuch a Parliament. This conſideration alone would make me ſanguine in the ſupport of the meaſure now propoſed; and for this reaſon, among many others, I conclude with ſeconding the motion." The ſpeeches of theſe able and virtuous ſenators have been thus diſtinctly recited, becauſe they diſcover juſt and noble ſentiments of government, and diſcloſe a glorious proſpect of political reformation, which it is left to a happier and more enlightened age to realize*. The motion was fee-

* In the writings of SWIFT, a man naturally of a ſound and excellent judgment, though unhappily too much under the dominion of violent and malignant paſſions, is ſomewhere to be found this remarkable acknowledgement: "I adore the wiſdom of that Gothic conſtitution which made Parliaments annual."

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bly oppoſed in a diffuſive and labored ſpeech by Sir William Yonge, Secretary at War, by arguments which, if they proved any thing, would prove that Parliaments ought to be perpetual. But the principal Miniſters of the Crown obſerved a profound ſilence, not being able to endure the *teſt* of this *experimentum crucis*. It is, however, extremely remarkable, that, on the diviſion, the queſtion was negatived by a majority of thirty-two voices only, in a houſe of two hundred and ſixty-three members. No attempt at parliamentary reform, in any ſhape, after this, was made for fourteen years, when a motion for ſhortening the duration of Parliaments was negatived almoſt without the formality of a debate. Very recently, indeed, the queſtion has been revived with great luſtre and advantage under the auſpices of men of the higheſt talents, and bids fair to excite the ſerious and continued attention of the public, eſpecially as it is at laſt combined, as it ever ought to have been, with the kindred queſtion of an equalization of the repreſentation*. So long as this grand reform of Parliament itſelf remains unaccompliſhed, no eſſential reform in other reſpects is to be expected.

Previous to the departure of the Earl of Cheſterfield for the government of Ireland, he was inveſted with the character of Ambaſſador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the States General, in order to prevail upon their High Mightineſſes to take a more active and deciſive part in that war, which it could not fail to be remarked that his Lordſhip had repeatedly inveighed againſt in Parlia-

* It will eaſily be ſuppoſed, that an alluſion is here intended to the aſſociation lately inſtituted in the metropolis, for obtaining a reform in Parliament; which, excluſive of the avowed approbation of the great rival-ſtateſmen, Mr. PITT and Mr. FOX, reſpecting its objects, boaſts the diſtinguiſhed names of GREY, FRANCIS, LAMBTON, WHITEBREAD, ERSKINE, SMITH, and many others, which would reflect honor on any cauſe; and this is certainly a cauſe which would reflect honor upon any names.

ment as romantic, abſurd, and contrary to the intereſts of both countries. Nevertheleſs, as the nation had determined upon war, his Lordſhip might deem it no violation of moral or political obligation to exert his utmoſt efforts, as a public man, to render it ſucceſsful; and it is certain, that he never ceaſed to uſe his influence in the cabinet to accompliſh the reſtoration of peace; and, in conſequence of his diſappointment and diſſatisfaction in not being able to attain that favorite object of his wiſhes, he reſigned the Seals of Secretary of State, which were conſigned to him after his return from Ireland. "Every thing," ſays the Earl, ſpeaking confidentially of the ſtate of affairs at this period, "which does not tend to a peace, is abſurd, and will, in the end, prove fatal." And it is but impartial juſtice to declare, that no man entertained more juſt or comprehenſive ideas reſpecting the national intereſt and happineſs than this nobleman, and that few, if any, of his cotemporaries, can be named, who purſued them more reſolutely and ſteadily. Inceſſantly urged and incited by the whole power and influence of the Orange faction, the States at length acceded to the ſubſtance of the Ambaſſador's propoſals, and engaged to maintain an army of fifty thouſand men in the field, excluſive of garriſons. But, torn by inteſtine diviſion and animoſity, the terms of the treaty were, after the concluſion of it, little attended to; and, though the proportion of expence to be borne by Holland was mitigated from two-fifths to one-third, the danger to which the republic was expoſed was neither ſufficiently urgent, nor obvious, to excite a ſpirit of national ardor or unanimity*.

* When Metrodorus was ſent by Mithridates to ſolicit the aid of the King of Armenia againſt the Romans, Tigranes ſaid, "What would you, Metrodorus, adviſe me to do in this caſe?" To which Metrodorus replied, "As an Ambaſſador I ſhould exhort you to it; but, as your Counſellor, I ſhould adviſe you againſt it." Had Lord Cheſterfield been aſked the ſame queſtion, doubtleſs he muſt, if equally ingenuous, have returned a ſimilar anſwer.

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In the ſpeech made by the Ambaſſador in the aſſembly of the States, at his audience of leave, are to be found the following animated expreſſions: "The love of liberty, which firſt laid the foundation of this republic, and has ſince ſo often ſignalized her, this ſo noble and generous love ſtill unites your ſtrength and your counſels to thoſe of the King my maſter. Actuated by the ſame ſpirit, and purſuing the ſame end, the ſole object of your endeavors is to reſtore and ſecure the public liberty and tranquillity. What deſign can be more laudable? what work more worthy of a juſt and magnanimous zeal? Purſue, High and Mighty Lords, that deſign with your wonted ſteadineſs and wiſdom: continue thoſe efforts without ſuffering yourſelves to be diſcouraged, and may Heaven crown your undertakings with the ſucceſs they ſo well deſerve!" Excluſive, however, of the influence of French political intrigues, the majority of conſiderate perſons in the commonwealth could not but regard the neutrality offered by France as infinitely more eligible than the war urged by England; nor could it be reaſonably doubted, if the reſtoration of the peace of Europe were the real object in view, that Holland, who could propoſe to herſelf no proſpect or poſſibility of advantage by the continuance of hoſtilities, might act with much greater effect and dignity as a mediator than as a party.

On the return of the Earl of Cheſterfield from his embaſſy, he repaired to his government; and, during his continuance in that high office, he executed the duties of it with a vigilance, attention, and fidelity, which gave the moſt perfect ſatisfaction to the Iriſh nation; and have deſervedly endeared his memory to that generous and grateful people. The violent meaſures which were propoſed to him at the breaking out of the rebellion, reſpecting the Roman Catholics, he rejected with indignation. On the contrary, he treated them with a mildneſs and

moderation which engaged their affection and confidence. A profound tranquility prevailed throughout the kingdom; and it was obſerved, that the paſtoral letters of the Iriſh prieſts, in their public diſcourſes, and more private admonitions, were equally and invariably directed for the ſervice of the government. In his Excellency's ſpeech from the throne, at the opening of the ſeſſion, October 1745, after expreſſing his ardent wiſhes to co-operate with Parliament in whatever might tend to eſtabliſh or promote the true intereſt of the kingdom, he tells them, "that their own reflections will beſt ſuggeſt to them the advantages they have enjoyed under the juſt and legal authority of the preſent race of Princes; and their own hiſtory will beſt paint the miſeries and calamities of a people ſcourged, rather than governed, by blind zeal and lawleſs power; that theſe conſiderations muſt neceſſarily excite their higheſt indignation at the attempt now carrying on in Scotland, to diſturb his Majeſty's government by a pretender to his crown—one nurſed up in civil and religious error, formed to perſecution and oppreſſion in the ſeat of ſuperſtition and tyranny; whoſe groundleſs claim is as contrary to the natural rights of mankind, as to the particular laws and conſtitutions of theſe kingdoms; whoſe only hopes of ſupport are placed in the enemies of the liberties of Europe in general, and whoſe ſucceſs would conſequently deſtroy our liberty, our property, and our religion." So well aſſured was this Nobleman of the peaceable and loyal diſpoſition of the nation at large, that he treated with pleaſant ridicule the information brought to him by a Gentleman high in office, who, with marks of evident conſternation, told his Excellency that the people in Connaught were certainly *riſing*. The Earl, with perfect calmneſs and compoſure, replied, "It is now nine o'clock, and time for them to riſe; I therefore incline to believe your intelligence true."

This

This year, March 1745, died Robert, Earl of Orford, in circumſtances by no means affluent, although he had for twenty years the revenues of Great Britain at his diſpoſal. His death was occaſioned by the violent operation of a medicine which he took as a ſolvent for the ſtone; and he declared that he died a victim to the neglect of his own maxim—not to diſturb that which is at reſt.

The naval operations of this ſummer were ſpirited and ſucceſsful. A great number of rich prizes were captured from the enemy both in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies. But the achievement by which it was chiefly diſtinguiſhed was the conqueſt of the iſland of Cape Breton, in North America. This enterpriſe originated with the inhabitants of the province of New England; and the plan propoſed by them being approved by the government, Admiral Warren, now commanding the Britiſh fleet in thoſe ſeas, was commanded to co-operate with them. Six thouſand colonial troops were embarked from Boſton, which, with eight hundred marines from on board the fleet, conſtituted the whole of the land force. But with ſuch courage and vigor did theſe raw and undiſciplined troops, under the conduct of the Britiſh engineers, carry on their approaches, and with ſuch ſkill and judgment were their operations ſeconded by the Admiral, that, in about eight weeks after the commencement of the ſiege, the fortreſs and city of Louiſburg, and the whole iſland of Cape Breton, ſurrendered to the arms of his Britannic Majeſty. The Americans, who were freed by this conqueſt from a dangerous neighbor, acquired great and deſerved applauſe on the occaſion. The riſing importance of the Colonies became the ſubject of public attention and acknowledgment; and, by a generous exceſs of partiality, the magnitude of their ſervices, and the beneficial conſequences of this new conqueſt, were extolled and appreciated ſomewhat, perhaps, beyond their real and intrinſic value.

At

At the meeting of Parliament, January 1746, the King declared his regret at being obliged to have recourſe to his people for farther aids; and, at the ſame time, his confidence in their zeal and unanimity in ſupport of the public credit and ſafety. A new convulſion in the Miniſtry, however, retarded the progreſs of the ſupplies. A recent effort to introduce once more the Earl of Granville into the adminiſtration, had been made by the Sovereign, over whom that Nobleman had acquired a ſurpriſing aſcendency: but the Duke of Newcaſtle, and all who adhered to the widely-extended connection of the Pelhams, immediately on being acquainted with the King's determination, delivered in their reſignations. Lord Granville was, notwithſtanding, actually appointed to the office of Principal Secretary of State; but, relying on the greatneſs of his talents, he had ever diſdained to court the ſupport and aſſiſtance of friends; and, after a very ſhort trial, he was compelled reluctantly once more to render back the Seals. The Pelhams again reſumed their ſtations; and Lord Granville, relinquiſhing for ever the conteſt for ſuperiority, was, after an interval of political obſcurity, made Preſident of the Council, which ſtation he occupied many years, rather dignifying the office than dignified by it*. The ſupplies were now granted by the Commons with more than ordinary profuſion, About one hundred and twenty thouſand men, land forces, ſeamen, and marines, were provided for by Parliament. The ſum of three hundred thouſand pounds was voted to the King of Sar-

* February 10, 1746, the Duke of Newcaſtle and Lord Harrington reſigned the Seals, and the Earl of Granville was appointed Principal Secretary. The next day, Mr. Pelham reſigned the Treaſury, the Earl of Pembroke his gold key, and Mr. Legge and Mr. George Grenville their ſeats at the Board of Admiralty. The Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Bedford Firſt Lord of the Admiralty, the Earl of Cheſterfield (Lord Lieutenant of Ireland,) and almoſt all the great Officers of State, were expected to follow, when on Friday, February 14, the Earl of Granville returned the Seals into his Majeſty's hands, which were immediately re-delivered to the Duke of Newcaſtle.

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dinia; four hundred thouſand pounds to the Queen of Hungary, although the Princeſs had now fully ſurmounted her political embarraſſments. Subſidies alſo were granted with an unſparing hand to the Dutch, the Heſſians, the Saxons, the Hanoverians, the Electors of Mentz and Cologne; and the whole was crowned with a vote of credit and confidence for the ſum of five hundred thouſand pounds to his Majeſty*. Notwithſtanding this unheard-of prodigality of expenditure, no ſenſible effect was produced in the general ſyſtem of affairs. An unſucceſsful attempt was made in the courſe of this year, by Admiral Leſtock and General St. Clair, on Port L'Orient, an opulent maritime town on the ſouthern coaſt of Bretagne, and the grand depoſitory of the veſſels and ſtores belonging to the French Eaſt India Company. The fleet, with ſix battalions of regular forces on board, arrived, on the twentieth of September, in Quimperly Bay, ten miles diſtant from the city, which was immediately ſummoned to ſurrender. In the firſt emotions of ſurpriſe and conſternation, a capitulation was agreed to,

* It was boldly and ſhrewdly remarked by a political writer of theſe times, that, according to the hiſtorian Matthew Paris, when King Henry III. demanded money of his Parliament to defray the expences of a foreign expedition, which concerned not the intereſt of England, the Parliament told him flatly, that this was a moſt audacious requiſition: "Talia effrons *impudenter* poſtularet.—Contradixerunt Regi in faciem, nolentes amplius pecunia ſua ſpoliari." And upon his remonſtrating, that his royal faith was pledged, and pleading the abſolute neceſſity in which he ſtood of a ſupply, they expreſſed their aſtoniſhment that the immenſe ſums of money already granted could be ſo ſoon diſſipated: "Admiramur in quam abyſſum ſubmerſæ ſunt innumerabiles pecuniæ, quas, Domine Rex, immulxiſti, quæ nunquam Regno vel modicum contulerunt incrementum."—M. Paris, p. 561, 26 Henry III.

It is ſaid that Mr. Mitchel, the Engliſh Reſident at Berlin, during the ſecond Sileſian war, in communicating to the King of Pruſſia the intelligence of ſome advantage obtained over the enemy, made uſe of the following expreſſion—"By the help of GOD we have gained a victory over the French." "What, ſaid the King, is GOD one of your allies?" "Yes certainly, Sire, replied the Ambaſſador, and the only one who demands no ſubſidies of us."

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on condition that the magazines of the Company, upon the payment of forty thouſand pounds by way of ranſom, ſhould remain untouched, and the inhabitants be protected from pillage. Theſe terms the Britiſh Commanders inſtigated by the predominating avidity of plunder, haughtily and raſhly rejected; and the inhabitants, driven to extremity, prepared to defend themſelves with reſolution. The invaders were utterly deſtitute of the artillery and implements neceſſary for a ſiege. A ſingle battery, raiſed with difficulty and mounted only with a few field-pieces, played upon the fortifications without any effect. At length the troops ſtationed in the environs, with the militia of the province, collecting in great force, the General was compelled to abandon the enterpriſe, embarking his troops September 29, and. after ſome uſeleſs bravadoes on the French coaſt, the whole armament returned to Portſmouth. The French accounts aſſert, that the place, if attacked immediately on the landing of the troops, might have been eaſily taken by ſcalade; but the operations of the Engliſh General indicated as little of vigor as of judgment; and the Admiral did nothing to retrieve the reputation which, notwithſtanding the acquittal of the court-martial, he had, by his conduct at Toulon, loſt in the eſtimation, of the public. In the month of September, the important ſettlement of Madras, on the coaſt of Coromandel, ſurrendered to the French arms in India; which diſaſter the Engliſh, in the courſe of the next year, attempted in vain to avenge by the unſucceſsful ſiege of Pondicherry.

In November 1746, the Parliament was again convened, and the ſupplies again voted with the ſame laviſh profuſion—four hundred and thirty thouſand pounds to the Queen of Hungary; three hundred thouſand pounds to King of Sardinia; five hundred and ſeventy thouſand pounds for the maintenance of the Hanoverian and Heſſian auxiliaries; ſubſidies to the Electors of Saxony, Mentz,

Mentz, Cologne, and Bavaria; five hundred thouſand pounds as a vote of credit; and it was remarked, that the entire aggregate of the ſupplies exceeded by two millions and a half the greateſt annual ſum raiſed during the reign of Queen Anne, when Great Britain filled the world with the renown of her victories, though her riches were now exhauſted to purchaſe only diſgrace and misfortune. It muſt be acknowledged indeed, that at this period the King exhibited a laudable proof of his deſire to diminiſh the public expence, by ordering the third and fourth troops of his life-guards to be diſbanded, and reducing three regiments of horſe to the quality of dragoons, But theſe reductions were, at the ſame time, invidious and ineffectual, and the dignity of the nation ſeemed even in ſome ſort affected by them. That the Monarch was well ſatisfied with the rectitude of his own policy, and even willing to make conſiderable perſonal ſacrifices, in order to fix that ideal balance of power which he deemed ſo neceſſary to the happineſs and tranquillity of Europe, it would ſeem ungenerous to doubt. Happy! had the wiſdom of his meaſures borne any proportion to the integrity of his intentions.

An Act of Parliament of a very important nature paſſed this ſeſſion, for the abolition of the heretable juriſdictions in Scotland—that diſtinguiſhing feature of the feudal ſyſtem; ſince which period the peculiarities which ſeemed to ſtamp upon the Highland clans the caſt and character of a ſeparate nation have been gradually ſoftening, and, at this time, ſeem rapidly haſtening to their final and utter extinction.

This year died Philip V. King of Spain, to whom ſucceeded, without any viſible or immediate effect upon the general political ſyſtem, Don Ferdinand, Prince of Aſturias.

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In April 1747, a ſquadron ſailed from Breſt Water, commanded by M. de la Jonquiere, bound for America, and had made little progreſs in their voyage when they were encountered by a ſuperior Engliſh fleet, under the Admirals Anſon and Warren. The enemy fought with courage, but were compelled to yield to ſuperior force, and, towards evening, ſix ſhips of the line ſtruck their colors, and a great part of their convoy, with ſeveral frigates, were alſo taken. For this ſervice Admiral Anſon was ennobled, and Admiral Warren created a Knight of the Bath. In the month of October, Admiral Hawke, with a force much ſuperior, fell in with a fleet of nine line of battle ſhips, ſeven of which, after an obſtinate engagement, were captured by the Engliſh. The nation failed not to remark, that, in both theſe inſtances, the Engliſh fleet bore down upon the enemy; regardleſs of the preſervation of the line of battle; while the brave Admiral Matthews ſtill continued in a ſtate of diſgraceful ſuſpenſion for the ſame contempt of the eſtabliſhed punctilios of diſcipline.

The Parliament having been diſſolved in June, a new Parliament was convened in November 1747, highly favourable to the intereſt of the preſent Miniſtery. The minds of all were viſibly animated by the late naval ſucceſſes; the ableſt men in Parliament were engaged in the different poſts and offices of government; the Miniſter, Mr. Pelham, had acquired much of the public confidence; and the popularity of the King himſelf had very ſenſibly increaſed ſince the ſuppreſſion of the late rebellion. He declared, that the attachment of his people on that occaſion had impreſſed his heart with indelible ſenſations of gratitude, and that he felicitated himſelf upon an event, without which he had never known how much he was the object of their regard and affection. Oppoſition now ſeemed to languiſh, and, for the firſt time ſince the acceſſion of the Houſe of Hanover, England might be ſaid

ſaid to be governed by a popular adminiſtration*. The King ſignified, in his ſpeech to the Parliament, that a

* About this time a very excellent performance, deſervedly honored with a large ſhare of the public approbation, appeared under the title of "Free and Candid Diſquiſitions" reſpecting the neceſſity of a reform in the national Church. The celebrated Warburton, in a letter to his friend Dr. Doddridge, a diſſenting teacher of great eminence, writes—"As to the 'Diſquiſitions,' I will only ſay, that the temper, candor, and charity, with which they are wrote, are very edifying and exemplary. I wiſh ſucceſs to them as much as you can do. But I can tell you, of certain ſcience, that not the leaſt alteration will be made in the eccleſiaſtical ſyſtem." Dr. Chandler, another non-conformiſt divine of diſtinguiſhed reputation and ability, making an occaſional viſit at this period to Dr. Gooch, Biſhop of Norwich, met with Dr. Sherlock, then Biſhop of Saliſbury. The diſcourſe happened to fall on the propriety and utility of a *comprehenſion*. Dr. Sherlock ſaid, "Our church, Mr. Chandler, conſiſts of three parts, doctrine, diſcipline, and ceremonies. As to ceremonies, they are in themſelves indifferent, and ought to be left ſo; and the diſcipline of our church is **** ; but what have you to object to the doctrines of it?" Mr. Chandler replied, "Your Articles, my Lord, muſt be expreſſed in Scriptural words, and the Athanaſian Creed muſt be diſcarded." Both the Biſhops anſwered—they wiſhed they were rid of that Creed, and had no objection to altering the Articles into Scriptural words. The two Biſhops, at the concluſion of the viſit, requeſted Mr. Chandler to wait on the Archbiſhop, Dr. Herring, which he did, and met the Biſhop of Norwich. The Archbiſhop being informed by Dr. Gooch of the converſation that had taken place on the ſubject of a comprehenſion, replied, "A very good thing—he wiſhed it with all his heart; and the rather, becauſe this was a time which called upon all good men to unite againſt infidelity and immorality, which threatened univerſal ruin: and added, he was encouraged to hope, from the piety, learning, and moderation, of many diſſenters, that this was the proper time to make the attempt." "But, ſaid Dr. Gooch, Mr. Chandler ſays the Articles muſt be altered into the words of Scripture." "And why not? rejoined the Archbiſhop. "It is the impertinencies of men thruſting their own words into Articles, inſtead of the words of God, which have occaſioned moſt of the diviſions in the Chriſtian Church from the beginning to this day." The Archbiſhop added, that the Bench of Biſhops ſeemed to be of his mind, and that he ſhould be glad to ſee Mr. Chandler again, but was then OBLIGED TO GO TO COURT. The good Archbiſhop, it may be preſumed, according to the prediction of Dr. Warburton, met with little encouragement at COURT to perſevere in his benevolent deſign; for, during the remainder of this reign, we hear no more of eccleſiaſtical REFORM or COMPREHENSION.

congreſs

congreſs would ſpeedily be opened at Aix-la-Chapelle, for concerting the means of a general pacification. As the event, however, was uncertain, the former ſupplies and ſubſidies were renewed, and a new demand made for an additional ſubſidy to the Empreſs of Ruſſia, whom England had, by this means, the honor to claſs with the Empreſs-Queen of Hungary, the Kings of Denmark, Sweden, Poland, and Sardinia, and a multitude of Germanic Sovereigns, in her imperial, royal, and princely band of mercenaries. But, previous to the termination of the ſeſſion, in May 1748, the King informed the two Houſes that preliminaries of peace were actually ſigned, and that the baſis of the accommodation was a general reſtitution of conqueſts If we take into conſideration the relative ſituation of the belligerent powers, the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle muſt undoubtedly, upon the whole, be conſidered as very favorable and advantageous to the Allies. The King of France was now in actual poſſeſſion of almoſt the whole of the Auſtrian Netherlands, and had even penetrated into Dutch Brabant and Flanders. Except the fortune of the war, had, contrary to all reaſonable expectation, entirely changed, the Allies muſt ſoon have been driven beyond the Rhine, and the United States might have once more ſeen the *Oriflamme* of France diſpayed at the gates of Amſterdam. The hiſtory of Europe in modern times exhibits, perhaps, no inſtance of a diſparity of talents between oppoſing Commanders ſo great and manifeſt, as that which ſubſiſted between the Duke of Cumberland and the Mareſchal Saxe. Yet it is very remarkable, that the States-General ſeemed to think it unneceſſary to impoſe thoſe reſtraints upon his Royal Highneſs by which, in conſequence of the *tribunitian negative* veſted in the field deputies, the Duke of Marlborough had been formerly fettered. A vaſt army was aſſembled in the Netherlands at a ruinous expence to England, without the ſlighteſt neceſſity, as it was not pre-

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tended that the French had threatened the Dutch barrier —and which, when aſſembled, acted merely upon the defenſive—which attempted no ſiege—which relieved no fortreſs—and which gained no battle. And the nation had reaſon to recollect the coarſe but ſagacious political adage of Hyde, Earl of Rocheſter, "that to attack France in Flanders was to take a bull by the horns." For the ſacrifice of all her conqueſts no other compenſation was required by France than the ceſſion of the Duchy of Parma, with its appendages, to the Infant Don Philip, and of which territories that Prince was already in actual poſſeſſion. Thus, in the ſpace of little more than ten years, the Houſe of Auſtria was deprived of the Sicilies and Parma by Spain, of the rich and extenſive provice of Sileſia by Pruſſia, and of Servia and Belgrade, the bulwark of her empire on the ſide of Hungary, by the Turks; yet, by the wiſe and excellent adminiſtration of the Empreſs-Queen, whoſe councils were, from this period, chiefly directed by that great Stateſman who, to a very recent period, preſided at the helm of affairs in the Imperial Court*, Auſtria appeared, in a ſhort time, more potent and formidable than it had ever done under the imperious but feeble government of her father, the Emperor Charles VI. By this treaty England was compelled reluctantly to reſign her favorite conqueſt of Cape Breton, in order to obtain the reſtitution of Madras. With Spain England had little occaſion to negotiate. In the whole courſe of a war which had continued nine years, nothing had been loſt, and nothing gained, Porto Bello excepted, which had been immediately evacuated. The original cauſe of the war ſeemed, in the progreſs of it, to be entirely forgotten, and, at the concluſion of the peace, not a ſyllable was mentioned reſpecting the pretended *right of ſearch*, which had formerly

* The Count, afterwards created Prince de Kaunitz.

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occaſioned ſuch loud and indignant clamours. As the ſame complaints have never been revived, it appears, however, that Spain has virtually, though ſilently, relinquiſhed her claims. The ſettlement of the boundaries of the French and Britiſh empires in America, a queſtion in the higheſt degree doubtful and diſputatious, was referred to the deciſion of commiſſaries; and France retained no mark of ſuperiority in this treaty, with relation to England, excepting the requiſition of hoſtages to reſide in France till the reciprocal reſtitution of conqueſts ſhould be actually made; and the Earls of Suſſex and Cathcart were nominated for that purpoſe. This afforded the Patriots a pretence to exclaim againſt the peace as diſgraceful to the nation. But the nation, who were with reaſon wearied with the expences and diſaſters of the war, were well ſatisfied with the terms of peace, and it was celebrated with great and univerſal rejoicings. The Oppoſition in Parliament, nevertheleſs, ſtill retained ſome degree of importance, from the countenance and patronage of the Prince of Wales, who, from recent cauſes, had become more than ever alienated from the Court. And, at this period, his Royal Highneſs diſtinguiſhed by peculiar marks of his favor and confidence the famous Viſcount Bolingbroke, who having, many years ſince, received a full pardon from Government, without however being reſtored to his ſeat in Parliament, now reſided at the ruſtic manſion of Dawley, in Middleſex; and was viſited in this beautiful and ſequeſtered retreat, to make uſe of the expreſſion of a contemporary hiſtorian, "as a ſainted ſhrine, by all the diſtinguiſhed votaries of wit, eloquence, and political ambition." Matured and mellowed by experience, reflection, and age, this all-accompliſhed Nobleman, "framed in the prodigality of nature," and no leſs conſpicuous in the lofty fanes of ſcience, than the roſy bowers of pleaſure, or the gorgeous palaces of ambition, ſhone forth in the evening of life with a mild

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and ſubdued, but rich and reſplendent luſtre. And, in his political writings, he exhibited to an admiring world that IDEA of a PATRIOT KING, which the heir of the Britiſh Monarchy was ſuppoſed ambitious to form himſelf upon, as a complete and perfect model*. The hopes of the

* It will be, perhaps, not unacceptable to ſelect a few extracts from this celebrated performance, in compoſing which, Lord Bolingbroke ſeems to have determined to lay aſide all prejudice and party attachment, and to pourtray the lineaments of Truth, as ſhe appeared to his imagination, in her own heavenly and radiant form; and which derives an high additional value from its proceeding from a writer who poſſeſſed an intimate practical knowledge of his ſubject, and who has, therefore, ſteered perfectly clear of thoſe viſionary ideas of government which have unhappily blended themſelves with the theories of many philoſophical ſtatiſts. "In all caſes of great concernment, the noble writer tell us, that the ſhorteſt and ſureſt method of arriving at real knowledge is to remount to firſt principles; for it is about them that almoſt all the juggling and legerdemain employed by men, whoſe trade it is to deceive, are ſet to work. And he who does ſo on the ſubject of government, will diſcover ſoon that the notions concerning the divine inſtitution and right of Kings, as well as the abſolute power belonging to their office, have no foundation in fact or reaſon; but have riſen from an OLD ALLIANCE between eccleſiaſtical and civil policy. Reverence for government obliges us to reverence governors, who, for the ſake of it, are raiſed above the level of other men. But reverence for governors independently of government, any farther than reverence would be due to their virtues if they were private men, is prepoſterous, and repugnant to common ſenſe. As well might we ſay, that a ſhip is built, and loaded, and manned, for the ſake of any particular pilot, inſtead of acknowledging that the pilot is made for the ſake of the ſhip, her lading, and her crew, who are always the OWNERS in the *political veſſel*, as to ſay that Kingdoms were inſtituted for Kings, not Kings for Kingdoms. All this is as true of hereditary as of elective Monarchy; though the SCRIBBLERS for tyranny, under the name of Monarchy, would have us believe that there is ſomething more auguſt and more ſacred in the one than the other. They are ſacred alike, and this attribute is to be aſcribed, or not aſcribed, to them, as they anſwer, or do not anſwer, the ends of their inſtitution.—Enough has been ſaid to eſtabliſh the firſt and true principles of monarchical, and indeed of every other kind of government; and I will ſay with confidence, that no principles but theſe, and ſuch as theſe, can be advanced, which deſerve to be treated ſeriouſly; though Mr. Locke *condeſcended* to examine thoſe of Filmer, more out of regard to the prejudices of the time than the

the nation were, however, fatally blasted by the unfortunate and untimely death of the Prince, who, after a short illness

the importance of the work. The good of the People is the ultimate and true end of government; governors are therefore appointed for this end; and the civil constitution which appoints them with their power, is determined to do so, by that law of nature and reason which has determined the end of government, and which admits this *form* of government as the proper means of arriving at it. Now, the greatest good of a People is their liberty; without liberty no happiness can be enjoyed by society. The obligation therefore, to defend and maintain the freedom of such constitutions, will appear most sacred to a PATRIOT KING. The constitution will be considered by him as one law, consisting of two tables—or as one system composed of different parts and powers, but all duly proportioned to one another, and conspiring, by their harmony, to the perfection of the whole. He will make one, and but one, distinction between his rights and those of his people,—he will look on his to be a trust, and theirs a property; he will discern that he can have a right to no more than is entrusted to him by the constitution; and that the People alone, who had an original right to the whole by the law of nature, can have the sole indefeasible right to any part, and really have such a right to that part which they have reserved to themselves. Thus he will think, and on these principles he will act, whether he come to the throne by immediate or remote election. For in hereditary Monarchies, where *men* are not elected, *families* are: and therefore *some authors* would have it believed, that, when a family has been once admitted, and an hereditary right to the Crown recognised in it, that right cannot be forfeited. How much more agreeable to truth and to common sense would these authors have written, if they had maintained that every Prince who comes to a Crown in the course of succession, were he the last of five hundred, comes to it under the same conditions under which the first took it, whether expressed or implied! I mention this the rather because I have an imperfect *remembrance* that some SCRIBBLER was employed, or employed himself, to assert the *hereditary right of the present family*; a task so unnecessary to any good purpose, that I believe a suspicion arose of its having been designed for a bad one. A PATRIOT KING will never countenance such impertinent fallacies, nor deign to lean on broken reeds."—Was this *recollection* in Lord Bolingbroke, or *prophetic anticipation?* or is it necessary to say, that whoever defends the absurd and pernicious tenets here reprobated is a SCRIBBLER, however *sublime* and *beautiful* his language? A Nobleman yet living, who was in habits of strict intimacy with Lord Bolingbroke, relates of him, that he was accustomed to express, in high and enthusiastic language, his admiration of the genius and talents of ALCIBIADES,

illneſs, expired, March 20, 1751, leaving the education of his numerous offspring to the care of a Princeſs, amiable, indeed, for her maternal and domeſtic virtues, but who had brought from the Court of Saxe-Gotha principles and maxims of government ill according with thoſe which form the baſis of the Engliſh conſtitution. Soon after the death of his Royal Highneſs, his eldeſt ſon, Prince George, was committed to the care of the Earl Harcourt as governor, and the Biſhop of Norwich as preceptor—men whoſe principles and characters deſervedly ſtood high in the eſteem of the nation. But it was ſoon diſcovered that the Earl of Bute, who had been introduced into the Prince's houſehold as a Lord of the Bedchamber, had acquired ſo high a degree of influence at the Court of Leiceſter Houſe, as to make the ſituation of thoſe who poſſeſſed reſponſible offices very uneaſy. It was confidently aſſerted, that books had been repeatedly found in the hands of the Prince of a moſt dangerous political tendency. On a remarkable motion made in the Houſe of Peers, March 1753, by the Duke of Bedford, for the production of certain papers and documents relative to this ſubject, Lord Harcourt declared that he found he had no authority over the Prince's education, nor could he be of any ſervice unleſs the ſub-governor and others were diſmiſſed, whom he had ſtrong reaſons to believe tainted with Jacobite principles. Impreſſed with this idea, his Lordſhip and his co-adjutor, the Biſhop, reſigned their offices, and to them Lord Waldegrave and the Biſhop of Lincoln ſucceeded. But the baleful influence of the Earl of Bute was too plainly

ADES, not unconſcious, perhaps, that to the character of this celebrated Athenian his own bore a ſtriking analogy. And Lord Orrery aſſures us, that the converſation of Lord Bolingbroke united the wiſdom of Socrates, the dignity and eaſe of Pliny, and the wit of Horace.

discerned to be still all-prevalent, affording, notwithstanding the private and personal virtues of the Prince, just and serious ground of national solicitude and apprehension*.

Next to the Minister himself, two of the most distinguished personages at this period in the British Parliament were Mr. Murray, Solicitor General, and Mr. Pitt, Paymaster of the Forces—both, indeed, possessing an extent of genius and splendor of eloquence superior to Mr. Pelham, who, founding his power on the firm and solid foundation of public esteem and public virtue, suffered no mean or corroding political jealousies to enter his breast. The first of these, promoted, in the progress of his fortunes, to the Chief Justiceship of England,

* In the Diary of Lord Melcombe, which exhibits an amusing picture of the interior of a Court, delineated by a vain, obsequious, temporising courtier, are contained many characteristic and interesting anecdotes. With respect to this memorable resignation, his Lordship informs us, that Lord Harcourt complained strongly to the King of dangerous notions and arbitrary principles being instilled into the Prince; and that he could be of no use unless Stone, Cresset, and Scot, were dismissed: that, as he named no particulars, the King had sent the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Chancellor to confer with his Lordship upon the subject; but Lord Harcourt declared, that the particulars were fit only to be communicated to the King, and that he would wait on his Majesty with them: that he did so, and the satisfaction he required not being given, the King appearing to yield a slow and reluctant credit to these allegations, the Earl and Bishop immediately resigned their offices. It is a curious circumstance, that, in a conversation which Lord Melcombe held with the Duke of Dorset on the subject of these resignations, *it was agreed*—"that there must be a *counter-story* on the court side, or the resigners would run away with the public opinion." It is superfluous to say, that this *counter-story* never appeared. The original appointment of Stone, who was the intimate friend of Murray, the Solicitor General, was extremely disagreeable to the late Prince of Wales, who was accustomed, as the Princess related to Lord Melcombe, when affairs went ill, passionately to exclaim—"How could better be expected when such a Jacobite as Stone was trusted!"

and

and the title of Earl of Mansfield, was educated in ſentiments by no means favorable to his political advancement; but, from his firſt entrance into public life, he ſuffered no ſymptoms of his original attachments to appear, excepting a certain bias always diſcernible, throughout all the variations and viciſſitudes of his political career, in favour of prerogative. His perſon was graceful, the tones of his voice exquiſitely melodious, and his ſtyle of oratory clear, dignified, calm, and perſuaſive*. To this hiſtorical portrait that of Mr. Pitt may be exhibited as a juſt and ſtriking contraſt. This celebrated Statefman was introduced early in life into the Houſe of Commons, where he ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the animation of his eloquence and the ſuperiority of his talents. His reply to the political veteran Horace Walpole, who had on ſome occaſion affected to mention him with contempt, as an unpractiſed and youthful orator, is not yet forgotten: "Whether youth could be juſtly imputed to any man as a reproach, Mr. Pitt ſaid, he ſhould not determine; but he would affirm, that the wretch, who, after having ſeen the conſequences of repeated errors, continues ſtill to blunder, and whoſe age has only added obſtinacy to ſtupidity, deſerves not that his grey hairs ſhould ſecure him from inſult; and much more is he to be abhorred who, as he has advanced in age, has receded from virtue, who deliberately devotes the remnant of his life to the ruin of his country." As a public ſpeaker, he poſſeſſed ſuch commanding force and energy of language, as ſtruck his hearers with aſtoniſhment and admiration.

* The æra ſo feelingly anticipated by the Poet is, almoſt in the moment of writing, at length arrived. This Nobleman's career of life and honor is cloſed—

And MURRAY, long enough his country's pride,
Is now no more than TULLY or than HYDE.

The power and effect of his oratory have been compared to "the lightening which flashed from heaven, blasting where it smote, and withering the nerves of opposition." His ambition was open and undisguised; but he disdained to seek the gratification of it by any mean or degrading compliance. On the contrary, he was pertinacious in his opinions, imperious in his deportment, fearless and resolute in his conduct. All attention to pecuniary considerations he seemed to think beneath the dignity of his character, ever maintaining an inviolable integrity in the midst of temptation*. And in that theatre of political corruption in which it was the shameless boast of the Minister, that *every man had his price*, the public virtue of Mr. Pitt was universally acknowledged to be "pure as the icicle pendent from Dian's temple."

In the foremost rank of Statesmen at this period, likewise, must be classed the Secretary of War, Mr. Fox, afterwards advanced to the Peerage by the title of Lord Holland. His talents appear, indeed, less brilliant than solid. Long and intimately attached to the connection of the Pelhams, he had, on all occasions, distinguished himself as a most able advocate of the measures of the

* Two signal proofs of the disinterested integrity of Mr. Pitt in the discharge of his office, are distinctly specified. On his accession to the post of Paymaster, he refused the customary perquisites of half per cent. on the subsidies voted by Parliament to the Queen of Hungary, the King of Sardinia, &c. amounting to an immense sum. The King of Sardinia, struck with admiration at this conduct, ordered his Ambassador to offer the same as a royal present to Mr. Pitt; but this Mr. Pitt peremptorily, though respectfully, refused, saying, that he did no more than his duty in paying it entire. The other fact, equally to the honor of this great man, is, that he would never appropriate any of the balances of the public money in his hands to any purposes of private emolument, paying them invariably into the Bank of England, and satisfying himself with the common legal appointments annexed to his office.

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preſent adminiſtration. In common with the other adherents of that powerful party, he eſpouſed with zeal the antient principles of whiggiſm eſtabliſhed at the Revolution—blended as they were with the courtly bias in favor of the new ſyſtem of policy introduced at the acceſſion of the preſent family. His underſtanding was vigorous, and his knowledge extenſive; and he commanded the attention of the Houſe not by the ſplendor of his eloquence, but the ſuperior weight and force of his obſervations. Though far from harboring the idea of a political competition with Mr. Pelham, whom he ſupported with the cordiality rather of friendſhip than of intereſt, he regarded himſelf, and was univerſally regarded, as ſecond only in political importance to the Miniſter; nor, in caſe of a vacancy in the higheſt department of government, did there appear any probability of a conteſt for the pre-eminence—Mr. Pitt at this period, not to mention his inferior ſtanding in office, boaſting little advantage over Mr. Fox in the eſtimation of the public, and poſſeſſing much leſs of the confidence of the Court.

The moſt conſiderable controverſy which took place in the Houſe of Commons, during the ſeſſion immediately ſucceeding the concluſion of the peace, was occaſioned by ſome important innovations in the annual mutiny bill, particularly the final clauſe, by which martial law was extended to all officers on half pay, and which, by extending in the ſame proportion the influence of the Crown, might in its conſequences, as the oppoſition affirmed, prove very dangerous to the Conſtitution. But Mr. Pitt defended the clauſe, which was ultimately carried by a conſiderable majority, as a neceſſary extenſion of military diſcipline—urging, in order to obviate the alarm of danger, "that the very exiſtence of Engliſh liberty muſt, and did, actually depend upon the moderation of the Sovereign, and the virtue of the army. To

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that virtue, ſaid he, we truſt even at this hour, ſmall as our army is—to that virtue we muſt have truſted in whatever manner this bill had been modelled; and without this virtue, ſhould the Lords, the Commons, and the people of England, entrench themſelves behind parchment up to the teeth, the ſword will find a paſſage to the vitals of the Conſtitution." Certainly a more forcible argument could not be found to demonſtrate the neceſſity of reducing that army, and of diminiſhing that influence, which the clauſe in queſtion was calculated to confirm and increaſe.——At this period, a plan was formed and carried into execution, chiefly under the patronage and direction of the Earl of Halifax, Firſt Lord of Trade and Plantations, for the eſtabliſhment of a colony on the peninſula of Acadie. By the treaty of Utrecht this peninſula, originally ſettled by the French, was ceded, with the entire provice of Nova Scotia, to the Engliſh. But the ſmall town and fortreſs of Annapolis, ſituated in the midſt of the French ſettlers, excepted, no trace appeared of its being an Engliſh poſſeſſion. By the plan now adopted, it was determined to found a city on the oppoſite or eaſtern ſide of the peninſula, to which the name of Halifax was given, on a ſpot commodiouſly ſituated, and with the advantage of a ſecure and excellent harbour. This colony, though viewed by the French with jealous eyes, being primarily deſigned for a military ſtation, and ſubjected, by an unpardonable error in the original plan, to a military and deſpotic form of government, did not anſwer the high expectations excited by it: but of late years, in conſequence of many judicious regulations and unexpected changes, it has riſen rapidly in commercial and political importance.

From the firm eſtabliſhment of peace, the extenſion of commerce, and the accumulation of wealth, the public funds, all or the far greater part of which bore the

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ſame intereſt of *four per cent.* now roſe ſo much above par, as to make it practicable for the Miniſter to bring forward a grand meaſure of finance, which, however daring in appearance, was attended with no difficulty in the execution. This was no other than an improvement of the ſcheme formerly offered to Parliament by Sir John Barnard, to liquidate all the redeemable annuities, comprehending almoſt the whole of the public debts, by an immediate payment of the principal. This propoſal was, however, attended with an alternative which the Miniſter well knew it was the intereſt of the ſtock-holder to accept. An option was allowed by the act, either to receive the entire amount of the debt, at *par*, *i. e.* at a diſcount of more than thirty *per cent.* below the actual transfer price, or to conſent to a reduction of the intereſt from four to three and a half *per cent.* for ſeven years, and afterwards to remain at three *per cent.* This had all the effect and operation of a tax of twenty-five *per cent.* upon the public funds, and it was a blow moſt ſeverely felt by very many families in the middle claſſes of life, whoſe property was confided to the faith of government. Yet no violation of the public faith could be pretended; for, in conformity to the original terms of the agreement, the perpetual annuities were at all times redeemable by the government at *par*. A very great proportion, therefore, of the public creditors aſſented, however reluctantly, to the terms of the Miniſter. The three great chartered Companies, nevertheleſs, and various individual proprietors of ſtock, to the amount of eight or ten millions, refuſed to ſubſcribe. But Mr. Pelham, encouraged by the general ſucceſs of his project, now aſſumed an higher tone; and he declared that, as they had ſuffered the time preſcribed by the act to elapſe, they ſhould no longer be admitted to take advantage of the terms originally offered. But, that their obſtinacy and ignorance

rance might not be too rigorouſly puniſhed, he would now propoſe a ſecond ſubſcription, in which the reduction of the intereſt from three and a half to three *per cent.* ſhould take place at the end of five years. Upon reconſideration, the Bank, the Eaſt India Company, and South Sea Company, and the individual proprietors who had concurred with them, and were probably influenced by their authority to reject with diſdain the former propoſition, unanimouſly thought proper to accept of the favor and indulgence now offered; and the plan of the Miniſter was carried into complete execution, not only with reputation but triumph. But it is remarkable, that no effort was at any time made by Mr. Pelham for the re-eſtabliſhment of the ſinking fund, as originally propoſed by Sir Robert Walpole, a meaſure of much greater efficacy, though of leſs *eclat*, than this boaſted ſcheme of reduction.

About this time, an Act of Parliament alſo paſſed for the encouragement of the Britiſh Fiſheries, by which a company was incorporated, in order to carry into effect the purpoſes of the act. But as the veſſels deſigned to rendezvous at the ſound of Braſſa were, according to this project, to be fitted out at the port of London, to mention no other of its numerous defects, it was clearly foreſeen, and peremptorily foretold, that the ſcheme would prove abortive. Various efforts have ſince been made, at different times, to revive the public attention to this national concern, but with little ſucceſs. And it yet remains for ſome future able and patriotic Miniſter to adopt a grand and comprehenſive plan, for the accompliſhment of this moſt important and laudable object. Had a tenth part of the immenſe ſums diſſipated and ſquandered in Italian and German ſubſidies been employed in erecting towns, forming canals, building veſſels, and procuring implements, in order to carry on the fiſheries to advantage

tage upon the ſpot, the Highlands of Scotland might, at this day, have exhibited a ſmiling ſcene of induſtry and plenty, inſtead of preſenting to our view the cheerleſs aſpect of poverty and wretchedneſs, or rather the hideous picture of ſolitude and deſolation.

Philip V. of Spain, whoſe partiality to France ſeemed to increaſe with increaſing years, being now deceaſed, and his ſon and ſucceſſor Ferdinand cheriſhing a ſincere deſire to maintain a perfect amity with Great Britain, a treaty or convention was this year concluded at Madrid, between Don Joſeph de Carvajal, the Spaniſh Miniſter, and Mr Keene, the Engliſh Envoy, by which the points referred to the deciſion of Commiſſaries, by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, were finally determined, and the commercial privileges of the Engliſh nation fully reſtored. No mention, however, and much leſs any direct renunciation, was made of the right of ſearch claimed by the Spaniards, and which was the original cauſe of the war. And when this omiſſion was ſtrongly urged by the oppoſition in Parliament, as inconſiſtent with the poſitive declaration of the two Houſes at the commencement of the war, who concurred in the addreſs to the Throne, that no treaty of peace with Spain ſhould be admitted unleſs ſuch renunciation ſhould be firſt obtained as a preliminary, Mr. Pitt, who had been a ſtrenuous advocate for this addreſs, offered an apology for his conduct, as a Miniſter of the Crown concurring in the meaſures now the ſubject of cenſure, ſomewhat novel and ſingular. "He acknowledged that he had contended ſtrongly for the addreſs alluded to, becauſe at that time, being young and ſanguine, he thought it right and reaſonable. But he was now ten years older, had conſidered matters more coolly, and was convinced that the privilege of *no ſearch* with reſpect to Britiſh veſſels ſailing near the American ſhore, would never be obtained unleſs Spain ſhould be brought ſo low as to acquieſce in any terms we, as victors

victors might propose." This was a virtual vindication of the conduct and principles of the late Minister, Sir Robert Walpole, in his negociations with Spain, against which Mr. Pitt had so often and so eloquently declaimed; and such an avowal could only be regarded as an involuntary species of homage paid to the memory of that sagacious and able Statesman.

In the course of the present summer, 1750, died Don Juan V. King of Portugal; a Prince not destitute of ability, but tainted with a wretched spirit of bigotry and persecution. He was succeeded by his son Don Joseph, at whose accession the Infanta Isabella became heiress of the crown. And, in order to preserve the sceptre of Portugal in the House of Braganza, this Princess, by virtue of a Papal dispensation, was married to her uncle the Infant Don Pedro, brother to the King; the first issue of which nuptials, Joseph Xavier, Prince of Brazil, while of an age yet immature, was, by a similar alliance —an alliance at which nature and custom equally revolt —married to his aunt Donna Maria, sister to Isabella, the present Queen.

In consequence of the death of his Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, a Bill was presented by the Duke of Newcastle to the House of Peers (May 1741), to provide for the administration of government, in case the crown should descend to a minor: and the Princess Dowager of Wales was appointed Regent of Great Britain and Ireland, assisted by a council composed of the Great Officers of State, the Duke of Cumberland presiding at the head. This was a hazardous and dangerous plan, which, had it been carried into effect, would have laid the foundation of a divided and distracted government. Happily, however, the King lived till his successor attained to the age of majority, and the regency bill, which was justly and strongly opposed in Parliament, sunk unnoticed into silence and oblivion.

Amongst

Amongſt the moſt remarkable bill of the preſent ſeſſion was that introduced by the Earl of Cheſterfield for the reformation of the Calendar, notwithſtanding the previous and avowed di approbation of the Duke of Newcaſtle, who declared himſelf "averſe to diſturb that which was at reſt; adding, that he did not love new-fangled things." The bill, however, was received with general applauſe, and was ſupported in the Houſe of Peers by the Earl of Macclesfield, with a diſplay of profound and ſcientific knowledge which reflected upon that Nobleman the higheſt honor, as the ſucceſſor to the chair of NEWTON, and Preſident of the moſt learned ſociety in Europe The Julian computation of time, either from ignorance or negligence, ſuppoſing a complete ſolar revolution to be effected in the preciſe period of three hundred and ſixty-five days and ſix hours, made no proviſion for the apparently trifling deficiency of eleven minutes, which however, in the lapſe of eighteen centuries, amounted to a difference of eleven days. A reformation of the Calendar had been accompliſhed in the ſixteenth century, under the auſpices of Pope Gregory XIII; but the authority of the Roman Pontiff extending over the Catholic countries only, the antient computation ſtill continued in uſe in England and other northern kingdoms. But by the bill now introduced, it was decreed that the new year ſhould begin, in conformity to the Gregorian reform, on the firſt of January, and that eleven intermediate nominal days, between the ſecond and fourteenth of September 1752, ſhould be omitted, ſo that the day ſucceeding the ſecond ſhould be denominated the fourteenth of that month—an alteration not leſs favorable to commercial than to aſtronomical accuracy and preciſion.

Frederic, King of Sweden, and Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, dying at this period, was ſucceeded, agreeably to the convention formerly made with Ruſſia, by Adolphus Frederic, Duke of Holſtein Eutin, Biſhop of Lubec—married

married to the ſiſter of his Pruſſian Majeſty. This Prince, on his acceſſion to the throne, took a voluntary oath in full ſenate that he would never attempt to introduce a deſpotic authority, but would maintain their liberties with his blood, and govern his ſubjects in all reſpects according to the laws and form of government eſtabliſhed in Sweden. This declaration was peculiarly acceptable to the Court of St. Peterſburg, which had entertained jealous apprehenſions that the intrigues of the French and Pruſſian factions, for changing the form of government, were countenanced and ſupported by the ſucceſſor—and had actually aſſembled an army on the frontiers of Finland, which menaced Sweden with invaſion; declaring, at the ſame time, her firm reſolution to maintain inviolate that conſtitution of which ſhe was the guarantee. By this complaiſant, or rather ſubmiſſive conduct, the harmony between the two countries appeared firmly conſolidated. The political depreſſion of Sweden, which was the neceſſary conſequence of the radical defects of her government, was in the higheſt degree favorable to the ambitious deſigns of Ruſſia; and, in conformity to the ſame inſidious and intereſted policy, the Court of St. Peterſburgh will ſuffer no improvement of the anarchic conſtitution of Poland. A violent miſunderſtanding between the Courts of Peterſburg and Berlin was the reſult of their oppoſing politics relative to the affairs of Sweden—his Pruſſian Majeſty declaring his determination to defend that kingdom with his whole force, in caſe of an attack from Ruſſia; and the Ambaſſadors on each ſide were recalled. This miſunderſtanding, heightened by mutual criminations and reproaches into the moſt bitter animoſity, after an interval of ſome years, terminated in open rupture: and the King of Pruſſia was taught, by fatal experience, to repent the groſs and wanton provocations by which he ventured to excite the reſentment of the Czarina. It is worthy of remark, that the

the ſubſidies received, during the courſe of his reign, from England, by the late King of Sweden, in the mere capacity of Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, on an accurate computation, amounted to the aſtoniſhing ſum of one million two hundred and forty-nine thouſand ſix hundred and ninety-nine pounds ſterling*. In the courſe of this year, 1751, alſo died Louiſa, Queen of Denmark, youngeſt daughter of his Britannic Majeſty, a Princeſs endowed with every graceful and amiable accompliſhment, and deſervedly dear to the Daniſh monarch and nation. Nearly at the ſame time, the United Provinces ſuſtained a public loſs by the death of his Serene Highneſs the Prince of Orange, who leaving only an infant ſon, the adminiſtration of the government devolved upon the Princeſs of Orange, as governante, during the minority, in which ſtation ſhe conducted affairs with much prudence and ability. When the Parliament met in November (1751), the King informed them that he had, in conjunction with the States General, whoſe intimate union and friendſhip with England had been in no degree impaired by the unfortunate death of the Stadtholder, concluded treaties with the Electors of Bavaria and Saxony, in addition to thoſe ſubſiſting with the Electors of Mentz and Cologne; and another was ſoon afterwards happily adjuſted with the Elector Palatine; and the vaſt ſums which theſe Princes demanded as the purchaſe of their friendſhip were cheerfully and loyally voted at the requiſition of the Court. The immediate object of theſe alliances was to ſecure a majority of the voices of the Electoral College, in the view of an approaching election of a King of the Ro-

* Soon after the death of the King of Sweden, Prince Frederic of Heſſe Caſſel, who had, in 1740, eſpouſed the Princeſs Mary, third daughter of the King of England, thought fit to renounce his religion, and declare himſelf a Roman Catholic, to the great injury of the Proteſtant intereſt in the Empire, and the general regret of the Engliſh nation and the Proteſtants throughout Europe.

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mans in the perſon of the Archduke Joſeph, eldeſt ſon of the Emperor: for this Prince having yet ſcarcely paſſed the years of infancy, it was reaſonably to be apprehended, that this favorite project might in the execution, be attended with embarraſſment and difficulty. A vigorous, however, if not a formidable reſiſtance was made in the Houſe of Commons to the ratification of theſe treaties by Parliament. For ſome years paſt Lord Egmont had been regarded as the head of the anti-courtiers—a Nobleman whoſe knowledge and talents were conſiderably above mediocrity, but whoſe oppoſition was too palpably indiſcriminate and perſonal; and the voice of the minority in the Houſe of Commons was no longer the voice of the majority of the people. This was an occaſion, however, which furniſhed his Lordſhip with a wide ſcope for argument as well as invective. "He declared himſelf an enemy to all ſubſidy-treaties in time of peace. The views and circumſtances of Princes and States were perpetually changing, and their deciſions would ever be influenced by preſent intereſts, and not paſt obligations, of which, he ſaid, we had full proof during the laſt war in the conduct of the Danes and Heſſians, the former of whom deſerted us, and the latter had actually engaged againſt us. By entering into treaties of this nature, without the previous authority of Parliament, he acknowledged the Houſe was indeed reduced to a diſagreeable dilemma— they muſt either expoſe their Sovereign to the contempt of foreign powers, or they muſt ſacrifice the intereſts of their conſtituents by impoſing unneceſſary burdens upon the country. But of two evils he would chooſe the leaſt, by refuſing the ſubſidies, and endeavor to vindicate the honor of the Sovereign by puniſhing thoſe Miniſters who adviſed ſuch pernicious meaſures." Sir John Hynde Cotton forcibly remarked, that France was one of the guarantees of the treaty of Weſtphalia, and conſequently of the liberties and conſtitution of

of the German Empire; and our thus granting ſubſidies to the Electors will furniſh her with a plauſible pretext for aſſerting that the liberties of the Empire are invaded by means of bribery and corruption; and may incite her to aſſume the character of the defender of the Germanic Conſtitution againſt ſuch ſcandalous attempts. With regard, therefore, to the election of a King of the Romans, he was of opinion that the German Princes ought to be left entirely to themſelves; and that the wiſeſt courſe England could take was, by the eſtabliſhment of an œconomical ſyſtem and the effectual reduction of the national debt, to prepare for a future war whenever a real and national neceſſity to engage in a war ſhould be proved to exiſt." It was alſo urged, in the courſe of the debate, that motives of policy no leſs than of œconomy militated againſt the granting of theſe ſubſidies; for, when we have taken the whole Electoral College into pay, they will certainly, for the ſake of having the ſubſidies renewed and continued, put off from time to time, on ſuch pleas as can never be wanting, the election until the death of the preſent Emperor; for, ſhould the election be once made, the ſubſidies will of courſe ceaſe. By the officious and invidious interpoſition of Great Britain, it was affirmed to be too probable that an inteſtine war in the Empire might be not *prevented*, as was alleged by the partiſans of the Court, but *excited*: for the other two Colleges of the Diet would certainly join with France in proteſting againſt the validity of an election ſo circumſtanced; in which caſe, it might be reaſonably expected that ſome of the Electors themſelves, who now ſo readily accepted our bribes, might be bribed to act againſt us. The goodneſs of his Majeſty's *intentions* no one preſumed to doubt; but to compliment, in the mode now propoſed, the depth of his wiſdom, or the extent of his penetration, would be ridiculous. As to that "union with his allies," on which ſuch ſtreſs ſeemed to be laid in his

his Majeſty's ſpeech from the throne, it was certainly very deſirable if it could be effected without ſacrificing the true intereſts of the nation: but there could be no ſufficient reaſon for purchaſing their friendſhip by extravagant ſubſidies, at a time when we had ſo little money to ſpare, ſince this union muſt always be a matter of much more importance to them than to us. England ſhould at all times be ſlow and cautious of intermeddling in the affairs of the Continent, if we wiſhed to avoid exciting reſentments and jealouſies. Were the liberties of Europe at this or any other criſis really endangered, the powers of the Continent would no doubt ſolicit with eagerneſs our aſſiſtance; whereas, we were now giving them bribes for permiſſion to interpoſe when there was no reaſon to believe that the Empire at large were deſirous of our interference, or would be benefited by it." The ſyſtem of policy adopted by the Engliſh Court was not, however, to be ſhaken by ſuch frivolous arguments; and after an inextricable tiſſue of negotiations and intrigues, moſt aſſiduouſly carried on with the different German Princes, the Elector of Mentz, Chancellor of the Empire, at length convoked an Electoral Diet. But the King of Pruſſia, Elector of Brandenburg, who had, on the firſt indication of this deſign, manifeſted his diſlike and diſapprobation, now publicly oppoſed it with the utmoſt vehemence and pertinacity. "He declared the election in contemplation to be contrary to the laws and conſtitution of the Empire, as promulgated in the *Golden Bull*, and confirmed by the treaty of Weſtphalia, from which the Electoral College had no right to depart. In the caſes only of long abſence, continued indiſpoſition, or accidental emergency, which could not now be pretended to exiſt, did the Imperial capitulations admit the lawfulneſs of proceeding to the election of a King of the Romans during the lifetime of the Emperor. And,

And, ſhould the imperial crown devolve to a minor, he affirmed, that many miſchiefs and diſorders muſt neceſſarily enſue, as the conſtitutions of the empire had eſtabliſhed no regency for the government of it in a caſe unknown to all preceding times, but had only appointed vicars during an actual vacancy of the imperial throne. That an election in theſe circumſtances would be incompatible with the Germanic liberties, and with the fundamental privileges of the princes and ſtates of the empire —that the imperial dignity would be virtually changed from an elective to an hereditary ſucceſſion, perpetuated in one family, which muſt thus be aggrandized to the prejudice of its co-eſtates, and the manifeſt ſubverſion of the conſtitution of the empire." In conſequence of theſe ſpirited remonſtrances of the Pruſſian monarch, ſeveral of the electors ſeemed to waver in their opinion; the king of France alſo ſolemnly proteſting, "that although, for the ſake of peace, he would not oppoſe this election, contrary as it was to the *golden bull*, provided it ſhould be confirmed by the unanimous conſent of the electoral college; yet ſhould ANY ONE of the members ſignify his diſſent, and claim the protection of France, he could not refuſe granting his aſſiſtance, as guarantee of the treaty of Weſtphalia." Attempts having been in vain made to ſoften the king of Pruſſia, the courts of Vienna and London were at length compelled to deſiſt from the proſecution of their deſign, though their imperial majeſties could not refrain from diſplaying marks of the bittereſt reſentment at the conduct of the Pruſſian monarch; and were evidently watching, with eager anxiety, for a favorable opportunity of revenge. The determined and reſolute oppoſition of the king of Pruſſia to this meaſure, which he paſſes over, in the hiſtory of his times, in deep and myſterious ſilence, ſeems beſt accounted for by the prevalent ſuſpicion that, in caſe of the demiſe of the emperor, he harbored a ſecret deſign

of offering himſelf as a candidate for the imperial throne. And it is probable, that a knowledge or perſuaſion of the aſpiring views of the Pruſſian monarch principally incited the court of Vienna to urge with ſuch perſevering ardor a project ſo irregular and invidious. At this period, the courts of Berlin and London were ſcarcely leſs at variance than thoſe of Vienna and Berlin; and the king of Pruſſia openly expreſſed his reſentment of the conduct of the king of England, "who had, by the influence of Engliſh ſubſidies, embarraſſed and embroiled the affairs of Germany, in which he had no right to interfere."

A profound tranquillity at this time prevailed throughout the iſland of Great Britain; and the attention of the miniſter ſeemed, by a perfect novelty in politics, to be wholly engroſſed in deviſing and bringing forward, for the diſcuſſion and approbation of parliament, plans and propoſals for the public good. Amongſt other laudable and liberal projects, a bill, of a nature not very important indeed, was introduced and paſſed in the ſeſſion of 1753, permitting the naturalization, under certain reſtrictions, of perſons born out of the realm, profeſſing the jewiſh religion *, it being ſuppoſed, or at leaſt hoped, that ſuch a meaſure would operate as an inducement to opulent foreigners of that perſuaſion to remove with their effects to Great Britain, to the obvious increaſe of the national commerce, credit, and proſperity. A moſt abſurd and unexpected alarm, however, was taken by the public at this juſt and beneficial meaſure; and it was aſſerted, that this adoption of *vagrant jews* into the community, and inveſting them with the rights of denizens, would rob

* This famous bill of naturalization gave no greater privileges to thoſe who might be deſirous of taking the advantage of it, than to Jews who were born in England, which are much inferior to thoſe which they enjoy in many other countries.

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the natives of their birth-right—would tend to deprive them, by ſetting up a rivalſhip of intereſt and induſtry, of the means of employment—would endanger the conſtitution in church and ſtate, and would be an indelible reproach to the legiſlature of a chriſtian nation. It was even affirmed, by ſome heated enthuſiaſts, that this act was an impious attempt to invalidate the ſcriptural prophecies, which declare that the jews ſhall be a ſcattered people, poſſeſſing no fixed or ſettled habitation until their converſion to chriſtianity, and their conſequent reſtoration to the promiſed land; though it certainly could not be pretended, that the nations of the earth are enjoined, by any precept of chriſtianity, to treat the jews with injuſtice or inhumanity, in order to enſure the accompliſhment of this prophecy. In the enſuing ſeſſion, however, the clamor continuing, and even increaſing, the bill was repealed, as one of thoſe neceſſary ſacrifices which wiſdom is occaſionally compelled to offer at the altar of prejudice and folly. This was one of the laſt acts of Mr. Pelham's adminiſtration—that miniſter dying, March 1754, in the meridian of his life, reputation, and uſefulneſs. Rectitude of underſtanding and diſpoſition ſeems to have conſtituted his leading characteriſtic. Whatever appears erroneous in his conduct proceeded chiefly from the imperfection and abſurdity of that general ſyſtem of politics, which he found too firmly eſtabliſhed to be, without an effort too mighty, ſuſceptible of any material alteration *. But the many excellent

* In a confidential converſation with Mr. Pelham, lord Melcombe tells us that this miniſter opened to him the bottom of his politics—"that he had a great regard for all Europe, but did not trouble himſelf much about it; that his concern was to keep things on a right foot at home; that he was at this period chiefly ſolicitous to have a thorough whig parliament choſen, which would make the remainder of his majeſty's

acts passed under his influence and patronage, plainly indicate an unremitted attention to the interest, and a sincere and earnest desire to promote the happiness of his country. His genius was not of an enterprising cast, and, when occasionally urged to adopt more bold and vigorous measures of political reform, he was accustomed to answer, "that things would last his time." And the general tenor of his conduct shewed, that he was less anxious to avoid the censure of timidity than of rashness. He lived and died esteemed and lamented, both by the sovereign and the nation *. Mr. Legge, a man of honor and capacity, after a short interval, succeeded Mr. Pelham as chancellor of the exchequer. The seals being consigned to Sir Thomas Robinson, formerly ambassador at the court of Vienna, a minister of very moderate political attainments, and little conversant in parliamentary intrigues and conflicts, the post of first lord of the trea-

jesty's life easy, and would settle the young prince upon the throne so as to secure him the prospect of a prosperous reign. If they would let him do this, he was at their service; if not, he could be contented to be a private man as well as another. Touching upon the subsidies attending the election of a king of the Romans, *Mr. Pelham's face fell*, and he grew very uneasy upon it; and expressed much dislike of the way it was conducted. He said he was always against those subsidies; that his idea was, that, if the dissentient electors would give in the *ultimatum* of their demands, and perform the conditions before they received the reward; then, indeed, when we were sure of our bargain, it might be worth considering *whether it were prudent to pay the price*; but to be buying one elector after another was what he ABHORRED: it must have an end, and he declared so in parliament.

* To the mild and amiable character of this justly valued minister, Mr. Pope has paid an elegant tribute of applause in one of his poetic epistles:

"Pleas'd let me own in Esher's peaceful grove,
Where Kent and Nature vie for Pelham's love,
The scene, the master, opening to my view,
I sit and dream I see my Cragg anew."

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ſury was occupied by the duke of Newcaſtle. But it ſoon appeared how unequal were the talents of this nobleman to the taſk of government, when deprived of the aſſiſtance of the counſellor and coadjutor with whom he had been ever united in the ſtricteſt bands of political and fraternal amity. And the firſt remarkable incident of his adminiſtration too plainly ſhewed that public meaſures were no longer actuated by the wiſe and beneficent counſels of Mr. Pelham. Dr. Cameron, brother to the celebrated Cameron of Lochiel, had been engaged in the rebellion of 1745, and, after the deciſive victory of Culloden, had effected his eſcape to the continent. Notwithſtanding his being attainted by act of parliament, he ventured, after an interval of nine years, to return *incognito* to Scotland, in order to tranſact certain affairs of great conſequence, but of a nature entirely private and perſonal—relying, in caſe of exigence, with fatal indiſcretion, on the mildneſs and equity of the Britiſh government, now raiſed far above the apprehenſion of danger, on the temper of the times, and the general reſpectability of his own character. Being, however, by ſome means diſcovered, he was apprehended and brought to his trial at the Old Baily; and his perſon being legally identified, he was convicted, and ſuffered the death of a traitor with admirable firmneſs and reſignation. It is remarkable, that even the populace were melted into tears at the melancholy ſpectacle of his execution; generouſly lamenting the exceſſive rigor of his fate; which can never be juſtified upon any public principles of neceſſity or utility, and which bears the odious aſpect of an act of obdurate and ſanguinary revenge. A far more conſpicuous proof, however, of the raſhneſs and incapacity of the preſent adminiſtration, appeared in the haughty tenor of their conduct reſpecting the parliament of Ireland, in an affair of great delicacy and importance—unmindful

unmindful that the harp, emblematic of this kingdom, produces by means of ſoft and gentle touches only its genuine harmony. In the year 1749, a conſiderable ſurplus remaining in the Iriſh exchequer, the houſe of commons in that country, conceiving that they had an undoubted right to appropriate ſuch ſurplus to national purpoſes, prepared heads of a bill with that deſign, to which was affixed the following preamble: "Whereas, on the 25th of March laſt, a conſiderable balance remained in the hands of the vice-treaſurers, or receivers-general, of the kingdom, or their deputy or deputies, unapplied: and it will be for your majeſty's ſervice, and for the eaſe of your faithful ſubjects in this kingdom, that ſo much thereof as can be conveniently ſpared ſhould be paid, agreeably to your majeſty's moſt gracious intention, in diſcharge of part of the national debt," &c. &c. On the tranſmiſſion of this bill to England, it was affirmed, by the warm partiſans of prerogative in the council, that the commons of Ireland had no right to apply any part of the unappropriated revenue, nor even to take into conſideration the propriety of ſuch appropriation, without the previous conſent of the crown, formally and explicitly declared. In the enſuing ſeſſion of parliament therefore, A. D. 1751, the duke of Dorſet, lord lieutenant of Ireland, informed the two houſes of parliament, in his ſpeech from the throne, that he was commanded by the king to acquaint them, that his majeſty, ever attentive to the eaſe and happineſs of his ſubjects, would graciouſly *conſent*, and recommended it to them, that ſuch a part of the money then remaining in his treaſury as ſhould be thought conſiſtent with the public ſervices, be applied towards the farther reduction of the national debt. The commons of Ireland, aſtoniſhed at this procedure of the court, and tremblingly alive in a caſe which ſo nearly concerned their privileges, omitted, in their addreſs of thanks, all mention of his majeſty's *conſent*, and only acknowledged his gracious

gracious attention to their eaſe and happineſs in *recommending* to them the application of the ſurplus. And in the ſubſequent bill framed for this purpoſe, in which one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds were appropriated to the diſcharge of the public debt, the ſame omiſſion was obſervable. The miniſters in England, highly offended with this contumacious conduct, returned the bill with an alteration in the preamble, ſignifying his majeſty's *conſent* as well as approbation. And the Iriſh houſe of commons, unwilling to riſk the conſequences of a ſerious rupture, paſſed the bill without farther notice. So far had the miſunderſtanding between the crown and parliament of Ireland proceeded previous to the death of Mr. Pelham, and thus might it have for ever reſted, had not the evil genius of the preſent miniſter ſuggeſted the neceſſity of ſupporting the *honor of government*, by poſitive directions to the duke of Dorſet, in opening the ſeſſion of the preſent year, to repeat the expreſſion of his majeſty's gracious *conſent*, in mentioning the ſurplus of the public money. The houſe, in their addreſs, not only again omitted the obnoxious word *conſent*, but the former expreſſions of grateful acknowledgement: and the bill of appropriation was tranſmitted to England, entirely diveſted of the uſual complimentary preamble, which the miniſters of the crown in England, in their great wiſdom, thought fit thus to ſupply—" And your majeſty, ever attentive to the eaſe and happineſs of your faithful ſubjects, has been graciouſly pleaſed to ſignify that you would *conſent*, and to recommend it to us that ſo much of the money remaining in your majeſty's treaſury as ſhould be neceſſary, be applied to the diſcharge of the national debt, or ſuch part thereof as ſhould be thought expedient by parliament." On the return of the bill, the whole nation ſeemed animated by the ſpirit of reſiſtance, and, notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts of the court, the bill, thus amended, was thrown out by a majority of five voices,

and

and the victory of the oppoſition was celebrated by univerſal rejoicings. In revenge, all thoſe who voted againſt the bill holding public employments were immediately diſmiſſed. But the rejection of the bill occaſioning a great ſtagnation in the uſual courſe of circulation, and the clamor of the public riſing high againſt the government, it was thought proper and neceſſary, by an humiliating conceſſion, to devote the ſurplus to the diſcharge of the debt in virtue of a royal letter. Thus was the dignity of government, which ought never to be lightly or capriciouſly committed, moſt ſenſibly wounded. Ireland was taught to know her own ſtrength and importance, and the firſt ſymptoms of that high and haughty ſpirit of independence were now diſcernible, which have ſince produced ſuch mighty effects.

If England, at this period, exhibited, by the clamorous oppoſition of almoſt all ranks of people to the Jew bill, plain indications that the ſpirit of fanaticiſm was by no means extinguiſhed in the nation, the ſame ſpirit operated, at the ſame time, in France, in a manner much more ſerious and alarming. Under a deluſive veil of feſtivity, pomp, and ſplendor, the court of Verſailles, during the whole of the reign of Louis XIV. and particularly the latter years of it, concealed a moſt unrelenting and ſanguinary ſpirit of bigotry and perſecution. This ſpirit diſplayed itſelf not merely in the ſavage folly of that policy by which he attempted the extirpation of the proteſtants, but alſo in his treatment of ſuch of the Catholics themſelves as preſumed, in any reſpect, to deviate from the eſtabliſhed dogmas of the Romiſh church. About the middle of the laſt century, a very celebrated treatiſe, under the title of *Auguſtinus*, had been written by Cornelius Janſen, biſhop of Ypres, on the abſtruſe theological topics of grace, predeſtination, and free will, in which he explains thoſe tenets in a mode different from that uſually adopted and maintained

tained in the ſchools, but perfectly conſonant, as this reverend and learned prelate alleged, to the divine and apoſtolic doctrine of the great St. Auſtin. As this novel, and therefore raſh explication, however, very nearly accorded with that of Calvin and the other leading reformers of the proteſtant churches, it excited great alarm and indignation; and the book was repeatedly cenſured, at different and diſtant intervals of time, by the intervention and authority of the Papal chair. Nevertheleſs, the partiſans and admirers of this famous treatiſe, who were now diſtinguiſhed by the name of Janſeniſts, ſeemed continually to increaſe; and it was at length thought neceſſary, by a bull iſſued by pope Clement XI. at the beginning of the preſent century, with all the terrific accompaniments of pontifical authority, ſolemnly to declare, "that all the faithful ought to condemn as heretical, not only with their mouths, but in their hearts," certain ſpecified propoſitions, in number no leſs than one hundred, extracted from the book of Janſenius. This conſtitution was received by the Gallican church, and promulgated by the king's command and authority. But this bull, far from terminating, only aggravated and inflamed the diſpute; and converted it from a theological to a political controverſy. The clergy in general, and more eſpecially the Jeſuits, were eager and zealous in their efforts to ſupport the dignity of the Romiſh See, and to enforce the acceptance of the Papal bull. On the other hand, the parliaments of the kingdom, and particularly the parliament of Paris, embraced every opportunity to expreſs their contempt and hatred of the bull and its partiſans. The archbiſhop of Paris, a haughty and turbulent prelate, ſtood forth at this period as the champion of the church, and encouraged and commanded the clergy to deny the ſacraments *in articulo mortis* to all perſons refuſing

fuſing to ſubſcribe the bull UNIGENITUS *. Divers eccleſiaſtics adhering to this injunction, were apprehended by authority of the parliament, for their contumacious and illegal conduct. Severe cenſures were paſſed upon the archbiſhop, and a proſecution actually commenced againſt the biſhop of Orleans; when a mandate from the court was iſſued, prohibiting all farther proceedings in theſe matters. The parliament, in return, preſented a ſpirited remonſtrance to the throne, declaring it to be their indiſpenſable duty and privilege to denounce and execute judgment on all delinquents. And, on the renewal of the royal command, they framed new remonſtrances, to which the king refuſed to reply, referring them to his former peremptory declaration. Upon which the parliament reſolved "that the different chambers ſhould remain aſſembled, but that all buſineſs ſhould be ſuſpended while, by the practices of evil-minded perſons, truth was prevented from reaching the throne." Another mandate was now iſſued, ordering the parliament to revoke this reſolution, on pain of the king's high diſpleaſure; inſtead of which, a ſecond reſolution paſſed, that they could not comply with this injunction without violating their duty and their oath. Upon which, *lettres de cachet* were immediately iſſued, and the members of the parliament baniſhed to diſtant parts of the kingdom: and a royal chamber was inſtituted for the intermediate adminiſtration of public juſtice. The letters patent for the eſtabliſhment of this court were, however, according to the laws and cuſtoms of the kingdom, not valid till they were judicially enregiſtered; and the parliament of Paris being now no more, application was made to the inferior court of

* By this appellation the bull was univerſally known, the term *Unigenitus* being the firſt word contained in it.

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the Chatelet, which declared its abſolute incompetency for that purpoſe: and the *lieutenant Civile* appearing in the court in order to enforce the regiſtery, all the counſellors roſe up and retired, leaving on the table an *arrêt*, containing their proteſt againſt theſe proceedings: in conſequence of which, ſeveral of the moſt reſpectable and ſpirited members of this court were committed to the Baſtile. The nation at large was now in the higheſt degree inflamed and exaſperated at the deſpotic conduct of the court. The provincial parliaments preſented bold remonſtrances to the throne, juſtificatory of the parliament of Paris. The proſecutions of the contumacious prieſts were every-where continued, and things ſeemed evidently tending to open and general revolt, when the court thought proper to avert the ſtorm by a recal of the parliament, who publicly re-entered Paris amidſt the loudeſt acclamations of the people. And the archbiſhop perſiſting in his former exhortations and directions to the clergy, was ſent as an exile to Conflans-ſous-Charenton. But the wound occaſioned by this diſſenſion between the court and parliament was never radically healed; and the king, after the lapſe of about two years, not only recalled the archbiſhop, but received, with decided marks of royal approbation, a bull from the Roman Pontiff, in which thoſe who rejected the bull *Unigenitus* were piouſly conſigned to everlaſting damnation, and the reiterated refuſal of the ſacraments confirmed by the authoritative ſanction of the Holy See. The parliament of Paris, regarding this bull as a direct attack upon the rights of the Gallican church and nation, iſſued an *arrêt* for its ſuppreſſion; upon which freſh conteſts aroſe, but the parliament remained firm, and the court was finally compelled to deſiſt from thoſe claims and pretenſions, which it had ſo unwiſely and unſeaſonably agitated. This memorable ſtruggle made a mighty and laſting impreſſion upon the minds of

of the people. The popularity of the monarch, formerly diſtinguiſhed by the flattering appellation of *Le bien aimé*, was for ever departed. New and intereſting ideas began to revolve in the public mind. The origin of the controverſy was, in the progreſs of it, forgotten; and the recal of the parliament was not the triumph of Janſeniſm, but of liberty. The deſpotic acts of the court were regarded by the nation with emotions of horror. Various publications, by writers of the higheſt talents, ſucceſſively appeared, in which the principles of juſt and equitable government were explained and illuſtrated with irreſiſtible force and energy; the boldeſt ſpeculations were indulged; prejudices, the moſt deeply rooted, were ſucceſsfully aſſailed; an eager and ardent ſpirit of reſearch was excited; touched by the wand of philoſophy, the mighty taliſman by which the nation had been faſt bound in the ſleep of a thouſand years, was ſuddenly diſſolved; reaſon began to reſume her empire, and an internal revolution now commenced —a revolution of the mind, which was pre-ordained, in the gradual and regular progreſſion of events, to produce an external revolution unparalleled for the magnitude of its object, and the extent of its conſequences, in the annals of mankind. But, alas! no unmixed good has ever yet been the lot of mortals; and experience too clearly evinces that truths of the higheſt moral and political importance, when firſt ſuggeſted to men long bowed down by the iron hand of oppreſſion, and newly awakened to a ſenſe of their own rights, are as flaſhes of lightning which irradiate the gloom with a pale, terrific, and dangerous luſtre.

The political contentions, however, which at this period aroſe between the kingdoms of Great Britain and France, and which terminated in a long and bloody war, ſeemed for ſome years, to abſorb all internal and domeſtic

domeſtic commotion; and the reſources of both nations were exhauſted in a conteſt which a very ſmall portion of wiſdom, had they been really and mutually diſpoſed to conciliation, might have ſufficed to accommodate.—After the ceſſion of Nova Scotia by the treaty of Utrecht, the Britiſh colonies in North America extended along the weſtern ſhore of the Atlantic for near a thouſand miles, and, according to the tenor of the charters granted to the original ſettlers, the dominion of the ſoil was bounded only by the Pacific ocean on the oppoſite ſide of the Continent. Spain, in whom were veſted the rights attached to the firſt diſcovery, advanced claims no leſs extravagant, and regarded as unwarrantable uſurpations the ſucceſſive ſettlements of the Engliſh nation. France, which held in contempt the pretenſions both of England and Spain, eſtabliſhed, at a more recent period, colonies on the river St. Laurence to the north, and on the Miſſiſippi to the ſouth, of the Engliſh ſettlements: and a ſyſtematic and artfully concerted plan was formed to connect theſe widely-diſtant eſtabliſhments by the gradual erection of a chain of fortreſſes from the lakes Erie and Ontario, along and beyond the Ohio to the *embouchure* of the Miſſiſippi. To the rich and immenſe plains extending on both ſides of that vaſt river they gave the appellation of Louiſiana; and they contended, that the Engliſh colonies were of right bounded by the range of high lands which ran parallel to the coaſt, at the diſtance of one hundred and fifty, or two hundred miles, under the different names of the Apalachian, Alleghaheny, or Blue Mountains. The province of Nova Scotia being ceded to England, according to the *ancient limits* of that territory, fruitleſs and endleſs altercations aroſe, as to the import of this expreſſion, between the commiſſaries of the two nations, to whom the right of fixing the boundaries of the rival empires was aſſigned; the Engliſh claiming the whole territory

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as far as the ſouthern bank of the river St. Laurence, and the French admitting their right only to the peninſula of Acadie. Another very ſerious cauſe of diſpute originated in a royal charter inconſiderately and injurioufly granted to certain merchants and adventurers of the city of London, who aſſumed the title of the Ohio company, of a large tract of ground ſituated on the banks of the Ohio, with an excluſive privilege of commerce with the Indian tribes inhabiting thoſe regions. This extraordinary grant excited extreme diſguſt in the minds of the Virginian and Pennſylvanian traders, who ſaw themſelves deprived of a lucrative branch of traffic, and the higheſt alarm amongſt the Indian nations, who perceived with aſtoniſhment their lands meaſured and parcelled out by Engliſh ſurveyors, as if they, who were the actual occupants, had neither intereſt nor property in them. And M. du Queſne, governor of Canada, declared that he would ſuffer no encroachments or depredations to be made on the Indian tribes under the protection of the crown of France. Towards the latter end of the year 1753, major Waſhington, ſince ſo famous under the name of general Waſhington, was deputed by the government of Virginia to the French commandant on the Ohio, to demand by what authority fortreſſes were erected, and ſettlements made, on the territories of the king of Great Britain; and to require him immediately to deſiſt from the proſecution of deſigns carried on in open violation of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two crowns, and totally ſubverſive of the harmony and good underſtanding which his Britannic majeſty was deſirous to maintain and cultivate with the moſt chriſtian king. To this peremptory requiſition, which almoſt aſſumed the air and tone of a menace, the French officer replied with equal ſpirit, that it was not his province to ſpecify the evidence, and demonſtrate

demonſtrate the right of the king his ſovereign to the lands ſituated on the river Ohio; but that he would tranſmit his meſſage to the marquis du Queſne, his immediate ſuperior. In the mean time, he declared his total diſregard of the ſummons of the Engliſh governor, and holding his command by virtue of a commiſſion from his general, he was prepared and determined to maintain the rights, and to fulfil the duties, of his ſtation. A far more ſerious remonſtrance was, about the ſame time, preſented by the earl of Albemarle, the Engliſh ambaſſador at Paris, to the court of Verſailles, in which the various cauſes of complaint on the part of England were ſtated in very ſtrong language. It was declared that, while the commiſſaries of the two nations were engaged in adjuſting the limits of the two empires, the French had taken actual poſſeſſion of the territories in diſpute; that they had incited the Indians of Nova Scotia and the French inhabitants of Acadie to riſe in arms againſt the Engliſh government, and had aſſiſted them with veſſels and military ſtores; that acts of violence had been repeatedly exerciſed by the authority or countenance of the French governors againſt the ſubjects of Great Britain; and numerous fortreſſes erected with a view to defend their continual and manifeſt encroachments on the territories of his Britannic majeſty: and his excellency concluded with demanding the eraſure of the forts, the reſtitution of the perſons and properties of all thoſe who had been captured, an unequivocal aſſurance that effectual care ſhould be taken, by the moſt poſitive inſtructions to the French commandants in America, to prevent any ſimilar cauſes of complaint in future. The French court not being yet prepared, or not having yet reſolved to riſk an open rupture with Great Britain, replied to this memorial in terms civilly evaſive, and engaged that inquiries ſhould be made, and inſtructions tranſmitted to America to

obviate

obviate all misunderstanding; and several British subjects, traders and others, seized by the French on various pretences, were actually dismissed.

On the last day of May 1754, the parliament, newly elected, was opened by commission, and, in the speech delivered by the lord chancellor, the two houses were informed, that his majesty did not at that time think it necessary to call their attention to the general state of the nation, reserving all discussions of this nature to the usual time of their assembling in the winter; and, on the fifth of June, the lords commissioners prorogued the parliament. Notwithstanding this apparent indifference, the court of London, confiding little in the specious and artful professions of the court of Versailles, issued orders to the English governors in America to repel force by force, and to take effectual measures to dislodge the French from their settlements on the Ohio, where they still continued their hostilities and encroachments. A congress being appointed at Albany, consisting of commissioners from the different colonies, to which the chieftains of the Indian nations bordering on the Ohio were invited, it soon appeared, though they refused not to accept the offered and customary presents, that they were entirely attached to the French interests—a predilection indeed easy to be accounted for by the superior humanity and justice displayed in every part of the conduct of the French nation in their transactions with the ancient inhabitants of the Continent, compared with the violent and imperious deportment of the English. At this meeting, it was determined that major Washington, who had already distinguished himself by his gallantry and spirit, should be detached with a corps of four hundred men, in order to occupy a post on the Ohio, where he threw up works, and began the erection of a fort, in expectation of speedy and effectual reinforcements; but before the intended succours

cours could arrive, this officer was ſuddenly attacked by a much ſuperior force of French and Indians, commanded by M. de Viller, who, after in vain ſummoning major Waſhington to ſurrender, marched to the attack of the fort, yet incomplete, and ill prepared for an aſſault, which was nevertheleſs ſuſtained with great vigor; but the Engliſh garriſon were at length compelled to a capitulation, and they were allowed to retreat, not unmoleſted indeed by the irregular attacks of the ſavages, to the province of Virginia. This event, as ſoon as the intelligence arrived in Europe, was ſtated, in a memorial of the earl of Albemarle, as an open violation of the peace. But the court of Verſailles, no longer ſolicitous to keep any meaſures with England, treated all remonſtrances with diſregard; and ſent large reinforcements of men, and ſupplies of military ſtores, to Quebec, with a manifeſt determination to purſue and defend her ambitious projects.

The parliament of England met in November, but a profound ſilence reſpecting the preſent critical ſituation of affairs was obſerved on the part of the crown, till, in the month of March (1755), a meſſage was delivered from the king to the parliament by Sir Thomas Robinſon, ſecretary of ſtate, importing that "his majeſty having, at the commencement of the ſeſſion, declared it to be the principal object of his ſolicitude to preſerve the public tranquillity, and to protect thoſe poſſeſſions which conſtitute a primary ſource of the public proſperity, now found it neceſſary to acquaint the houſe of commons, that the preſent ſtate of affairs made it requiſite to augment his forces by ſea and land, and to take ſuch other meaſures as might beſt tend to preſerve the peace of Europe, and to ſecure the juſt rights of his crown in America." This meſſage produced a warm and affectionate addreſs, and the ſum of one million was inſtantly voted for the purpoſes ſpecified by his ma-

jeſty. While M. de Mirepoix, the French ambaſſador in London, ſtill continued to amuſe the Britiſh miniſtry with empty profeſſions of peace and amity, certain intelligence was received that a powerful armament was preparing in the ports of Rochefort and Breſt, deſtined for America; and admiral Boſcawen was immediately appointed to the command of an equal force, fitted out for the avowed purpoſe of intercepting them. On which M. de Mirepoix declared, that the king his maſter would conſider the firſt gun fired at ſea as a declaration of war. The Britiſh admiral, hoping to obſtruct the paſſage of the French fleet into the gulf of St. Laurence, took his ſtation off the banks of Newfoundland; but, under cover of the thick fogs which ſo commonly prevail in thoſe northern latitudes, the French commander eluded his vigilance; two ſhips of the line only, the Alcide and Lys, being by ſome accident ſeparated from the reſt, fell into the hands of the Engliſh. Upon the arrival of this intelligence at Paris, the Duc de Mirepoix was immediately recalled from London, and M. de Buſſy from Hanover—the king of England being now reſident in that city. Letters of general repriſal were iſſued by the Engliſh court at this period, as well in Europe as America, and three hundred merchant ſhips, for the moſt part unſuſpicious of danger, fell, in the courſe of the year, into the hands of the Engliſh, with not leſs than eight thouſand ſailors on board. The French vehemently exclaimed againſt the conduct of the Engliſh government as inconſiſtent with the law of nations, war not having been as yet formally proclaimed; but the Engliſh inſiſted that the French themſelves being clearly the aggreſſors, it was juſt and lawful to repel force by force, and that the omiſſion of a form was wholly immaterial.

Early in the year 1755, general Braddock had ſailed from Cork with a conſiderable body of regular troops, and,

and, on his arrival in Virginia, took upon him the command of the forces deſtined to act againſt the French on the Ohio. This officer was a man of approved bravery, completely verſed in all points of military diſcipline, but opinionated and poſitive in his temper, and in his deportment auſtere and imperious. Wholly unacquainted with the country in which he was appointed to the chief command, and entertaining a ſovereign contempt for the colonial militia, of whom his army was in a great meaſure compoſed, he heard with ſilent diſdain all that information which the provincial officers were deſirous to offer reſpecting the mode of conducting an American expedition through woods, deſerts, and moraſſes, and the precautions which were neceſſary to guard againſt ſurpriſe, particularly as the Indian nations were for the moſt part in alliance with France. Having advanced with the moſt fearleſs ſecurity to leſs than ten miles of Fort Du Queſne, and without condeſcending, though earneſtly preſſed, to employ the irregulars in the ſervice as an advanced guard, or to ſend out any parties to reconnoitre the country, about noon on the ninth of July, in his march through a pathleſs ſwamp, entangled amid brakes and ruſhes, he was on the ſudden ſaluted with the horrid ſound of the Indian war-whoop, accompanied by a general fire both on his front and flank from a concealed and inviſible enemy. The van-guard immediately fell back, and terror and confuſion ſoon ſpread throughout all the ranks of the army. The general, far from making any efforts to diſcover and diſperſe this dangerous ambuſcade, exerted himſelf only to re-form and rally his troops, as if engaged with a regular army in an open plain. But the exacteſt diſcipline was, in this ſituation, of little avail; for, though no enemy appeared, the havoc and ſlaughter ſtill continued, and the general himſelf being at

length killed by a muſquet ſhot, the regular troops fled from the field with the utmoſt precipitation—the provincials, ſo much deſpiſed, forming in the rear, and covering their retreat; major Waſhington their commander acquiring on this occaſion, in the midſt of defeat, the honors and laurels of victory. All the artillery, ammunition, and baggage of the army were left in the hands of the enemy, and even the general's own cabinet, with all his letters and inſtructions; and the whole conduct of this expedition plainly proved that perſonal courage, though an indiſpenſable requiſite, is only a ſecondary qualification in the character of a military commander. Very indifferent ſucceſs alſo attended the operations carried on in the more northerly parts of the Continent. On the death of general Braddock, the chief command devolved upon general Shirley, who formed a plan for the reduction of the important fortreſſes of Crown Point and Niagara, erected by the French on the banks of the lakes Champlain and Ontario. The expedition againſt the former was conducted by general, afterwards Sir William Johnſon, a native of Ireland, but long reſident in America, where he had acquired great and deſerved popularity. From various cauſes of delay, the troops deſtined for this ſervice arrived at the place of rendezvous late in the ſummer; and were, ſoon after the commencement of their march, attacked in their camp by baron Dieſkau, the French commander, with great bravery, who was, notwithſtanding, repulſed with great loſs—the baron himſelf being made a priſoner. General Johnſon, however, found himſelf, after this bloody encounter, too much weakened to proceed in his expedition; and, after ſome deliberation, he determined upon a retreat to Albany. General Shirley himſelf undertook the conduct of the enterpriſe againſt Niagara, which, from its poſition, commands the communication between the lakes Erie and Ontario. But on his arrival

arrival at Oſwego, a fort belonging to the Engliſh on the ſouth-eaſtern ſhore of lake Ontario, he deemed it neceſſary to leave a very large proportion of the troops under his command for the defence of this poſt; and, after waiting till the end of September for his expected reinforcements and ſupplies of proviſions and ſtores, he was informed that it would be attended with danger to croſs the lake at this advanced ſeaſon of the year. He therefore determined to defer the ſiege of Niagara to the next campaign; and ſet out in October on his return to Albany. The earl of Loudon, an officer of reputation and merit, was now appointed commander in chief of the Britiſh forces in America, and veſted with very extenſive powers. But this nobleman, from cauſes not eaſy to develop, did not embark from England till the latter end of May; and, on reaching the head-quarters at Albany June the 29 (1756), he found all military operations in a manner ſuſpended, in the expectation of his arrival; after which, a conſiderable time elapſed in debates and conſultations reſpecting the plan moſt proper to be adopted, and whether the efforts of the army now aſſembled ſhould be directed againſt Crown Point and Ticonderago, ſituated at the ſouthern extremity of lake Champlain; whether a ſecond attempt ſhould be made againſt Niagara; or whether an expedition ſhould be undertaken againſt Fort Du Queſne on the Ohio. In the midſt of theſe deliberations, intelligence arrived that the French, under M. de Montcalm, had made themſelves maſters of Oſwego, although ſtrongly garriſoned, plentifully provided with all kinds of warlike ſtores, and defended by one hundred and twenty pieces of artillery. Apparently diſcouraged and diſconcerted by this unfortunate event, it was determined not to riſk any offenſive operation during the remainder of the preſent ſeaſon, but to employ

ploy the autumnal and winter months in making preparations for an early and vigorous campaign the enſuing year. Notwithſtanding the former diſappointments, high and ſanguine hopes were entertained from the great military force collected in the ſpring of 1757, and the avowed purpoſe of the commander in chief to employ his whole ſtrength in ſome grand and deciſive operation. Admiral Holborne arrived at Halifax with a powerful ſquadron, and large reinforcements of troops, in the beginning of July; and the earl of Loudon directing his march northward, an invaſion of Canada with their united forces was reaſonably to be expected. At length, however, Louiſburg, in the iſland of Cape Breton, was declared to be the object in contemplation—a ſcheme very favorable to the views and intereſts of France at this period, as it left M. de Montcalm entirely at liberty to proſecute his plans of conqueſt, and Louiſburg was ſo ſtrongly defended, that little apprehenſion was entertained for its ſafety. And the Britiſh commanders receiving certain intelligence, after the whole of the military and naval force deſtined for this expedition had rendezvouſed at Halifax, that the garriſon of Louiſburg conſiſted of ſix thouſand regular troops, excluſive of provincials, and that ſeventeen line-of-battle ſhips were moored in the harbor; it was reſolved, according to the cuſtom of this war, to poſtpone the expedition to a more convenient opportunity. In the mean time, the marquis de Montcalm had taken an advantage of the abſence of the earl of Loudon to lay ſiege, with an army of ten thouſand men, to the important poſt of Fort William Henry, ſituated on the ſouthern ſhore of lake George. The garriſon conſiſted of three thouſand men; the fortifications were ſtrong and in good condition; and general Webb, with about four thouſand men, was poſted in the vicinity,

nity, in order to maintain a communication with it. Notwithſtanding which, ſo vigorouſly were the approaches of the French commander urged, that articles of capitulation were ſigned in ſix days, not only importing the entire ſurrender of the fort, artillery, and ſtores, but reſtraining the garriſon from ſerving againſt his moſt chriſtian majeſty, or her allies, for the ſpace of eighteen months. By this conqueſt, the French acquired the entire command of the extenſive and magnificent chain of lakes which connects the two great rivers St. Laurence and Miſſiſippi, and which forms a grand line both of communication and diviſion between the northern and ſouthern parts of this vaſt continent. And thus diſgracefully terminated the third campaign of the American war, in which the French, with a very inferior force, had maintained an uniform ſuperiority, and in the courſe of which no advantage had been gained by the Engliſh, excepting, indeed, the expulſion of the French from Nova Scotia, by the vigorous exertions of colonel Monckton, aſſiſted by a body of provincials, expreſsly voted and detached by the aſſembly of Maſſachuſetts for this important purpoſe. Nor were the operations of the war at this period more ſkilfully or proſperouſly conducted by the Engliſh nation in Europe than in America. The court of Verſailles, finding a rupture with England inevitable, had employed earneſt ſolicitations with the court of Madrid to take an active part in her favor. Her efforts, however, were in vain, though ſupported by all the influence of the queen mother and the marquis de la Enſenada, the prime miniſter. The king of Spain himſelf was not diſpoſed to interrupt the harmony which ſubſiſted between Spain and Great Britain; and Don Ricardo Wall, a Spaniard of Britiſh extraction, and formerly reſident at the Britiſh court, and who poſſeſſed great credit with the king, took all imaginable pains to confirm his

his majeſty in theſe favorable ſentiments: and the intrigues of the miniſter with the court of Verſailles being diſcovered, he was diveſted of his offices, which were immediately conferred upon his competitor Don Ricardo. The court of Madrid, however, offered her *mediation* to compoſe the differences between England and France; but France inſiſting upon a ſuſpenſion of arms in America as the preliminary condition of a negotiation, and England refuſing to aſſent to any ſuch preliminary, nothing could be effected. And the courts of London and Verſailles, foreſeeing a violent and long protracted conflict, were aſſiduouſly engaged in forming and cultivating alliances in the different courts of Europe, in order to ſtrengthen their reſpective intereſts. A treaty was ſigned by the king of England, when at Hanover, June 25 (1755), with the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, by which his ſerene highneſs engaged to hold in readineſs for his majeſty's ſervice a body of twelve thouſand men. But Saxony and Bavaria, notwithſtanding the ſubſidies which they had regularly received during the years of peace, in contemplation and as the earneſt of future ſervices, now entered into oppoſite connections—laughing, no doubt, at the credulity of the Engliſh nation, in ſuppoſing honor and gratitude to be ties obligatory upon princes. In September, a treaty was ſigned at the palace of Kenſington between his Britannic majeſty and the empreſs of Ruſſia, by which that princeſs ſtipulated to maintain, on the frontiers of Livonia, an army of forty thouſand infantry, and fifteen thouſand cavalry, and a naval force of fifty gallies, to be in immediate readineſs to act at the requiſition of the king of England, ſhould the electoral dominions of that monarch be invaded in conſequence of the connection of Hanover with Great Britain; for which an annual ſubſidy of five hundred thouſand pounds was to be advanced to the Czarina. The court of Berlin was, at this criſis, ſtrongly aſſailed by the courts of London

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and Verſailles, each flattering itſelf with a deciſion in its favor. But the Pruſſian monarch, knowing the engagements already contracted between England and Ruſſia, and the ſtrict amity ſubſiſting between the imperial courts of Vienna and Peterſburg, would not venture to draw upon himſelf the reſentment of theſe three formidable powers, by a renewal of the alliance with France; and, in January 1756, a treaty was ſigned at London between the kings of Great Britain and Pruſſia, by which they engaged to oppoſe the introduction of any foreign troops into the empire. This article, though immediately pointed againſt France, amounted to a virtual renunciation of the alliance with Ruſſia; and the Czarina reſenting the conduct of the king of Great Britain, and exaſperated, from cauſes of a perſonal as well as political nature, againſt the king of Pruſſia, began to liſten with attention, or rather with eagerneſs, to the overtures of France, hitherto ſo much the object of her jealouſy and averſion.—"The empreſs Elizabeth, ſays the king of Pruſſia, who had ever been at enmity with France, rather choſe to enter into a league with her, than to preſerve the ſhadow of union with a power which had Pruſſia for an ally." The court of Verſailles, aſtoniſhed and alarmed at the defection of Pruſſia, which, as the king himſelf tells us, ſeemed to be conſidered in France almoſt in the light of a revolt *, now directed its attention to the court of Vienna; which ſince the termination of the late war had given clear and repeated intimations of a deſire to enter

* "La Cour de Verſailles paroiſſoit croire que le Roi de Pruſſe étoit à l'égard de la France ce qui eſt un deſpote de Valachie à l'égard de la Porte, c'eſt-à-dire, un Prince ſubordonné et obligé de faire la guerre dès qu'on lui envoie l'ordre. La nouvelle de cette alliance cauſa une vive ſenſation à Verſailles dans l'eſprit de Louis XV. et de ſon Conſeil; peu s'en fallut qu'ils ne diſent que le Roi de Pruſſe s'étoit revolté contre la France."—*Hiſt. de la Guerre de Sept Ans.*

into

into bonds of permanent amity with France: and, to the amazement of Europe, a treaty of mutual guarantee and ſupport was concluded and ſigned at Verſailles, May 1756, by theſe two great rival powers; and the inveterate hereditary animoſity ſubſiſting for ages between the houſes of Bourbon and Auſtria, in conſequence of which oceans of blood had been ſhed, and the faireſt countries of Chriſtendom deſolated, was at length, if the profeſſions of princes could merit any ſerious regard, for ever terminated. Theſe profeſſions were indeed, in this inſtance, unuſually ſincere. The ruling paſſion of France was, at this period, the depreſſion of the power of England—and of Auſtria, the ſubverſion of that of Pruſſia, which had ſo recently aſpired to a ſtation in the firſt rank of European powers, and preſumptuouſly eſtabliſhed an unheardof rivalſhip in the boſom of the empire itſelf to the imperial family. When an union between England and Pruſſia therefore took place, that repulſive force by which the houſes of Bourbon and Auſtria had been ſo long ſundered, was inſtantly changed to a political attraction, naturally leading to a ſtrict and intimate adheſion. The general conduct of France left ſcarcely a doubt of her intention to take advantage of the political relation of Hanover to Great Britain, by the invaſion of that electorate; although it muſt be acknowledged, that terms of neutrality were offered to the king of England as elector of Hanover, which he did not deem it conſiſtent with his honor and dignity to accept. Mighty preparations being made by the French court, with the avowed deſign of forming a powerful army in Weſtphalia, an army of obſervation, conſiſting of about forty thouſand Heſſians, Hanoverians, and Brunſwickers, was aſſembled for the protection of the electorate: and requiſitions were made by the court of London, both at Vienna and the Hague, for the

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aſſiſtance ſtipulated by treaties. The empreſs-queen at firſt alledged that, as the conteſt between England and France related to America only, it was not a *caſus fœderis*, and that Hanover might be ſecured by a treaty of neutrality. When the war became general, and the application was renewed, ſhe profeſſed that troops could not be ſpared with ſafety to her own dominions, which were in danger from the enmity of Pruſſia. And being again urged after the alliance between England and Pruſſia was concluded, ſhe declared in plain terms, that, being abandoned by England, ſhe was reduced to the neceſſity of ſecuring herſelf by an alliance with France. As to the provinces of the Belgic union, they had ſcarcely recovered from the terrors of the former war; the public finances were exhauſted, and the people in general extremely averſe to engage in hoſtilities. The court of Verſailles, moreover, by a counter-memorial, declared, that, "ſhould the ſtates grant the ſuccors in queſtion, the king of France would conſider their compliance as an act of hoſtility againſt himſelf." The application of the Engliſh court, therefore, being perceived, from the operation of theſe cauſes, uſeleſs and unavailing, colonel Yorke, the Engliſh ambaſſador, was directed to inform their high mightineſſes, that the king of England would not inſiſt on the requiſition; and the ſtates expreſſed, in grateful terms, their acknowledgments to his Britannic majeſty for thus generouſly relieving them from their embarraſſment.

The parliament of England aſſembled in November 1755; and, in the opening ſpeech, his majeſty informed the two houſes "that he had adopted what appeared to him the moſt proper and effectual meaſures for the protection of the national poſſeſſions in America, no reaſonable terms of accommodation having been propoſed by France; and alſo to diſappoint ſuch deſigns as, from various appearances and preparations, there was ground

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to believe had been formed againſt his kingdoms and dominions; that he had greatly augmented his forces by land and ſea; and that he had concluded treaties with Ruſſia and Heſſe Caſſel, copies of which ſhould be laid before them." In the addreſs moved in both houſes, in anſwer to this ſpeech, were the following words: "That they looked upon themſelves as obliged by the ſtrongeſt ties of duty, gratitude, and honor, to ſtand by and ſupport his majeſty in all ſuch wiſe and neceſſary meaſures and engagements, as his majeſty might have taken in vindication of the rights of his crown, or to defeat any attempts which might be made by France in reſentment for ſuch meaſures, and to aſſiſt his majeſty in diſappointing or repelling all ſuch enterpriſes as might be formed not only againſt his kingdoms, but alſo againſt any other of his dominions *though not belonging to the crown of Great Britain*, in caſe the king ſhould be attacked on account of the part which his majeſty had taken for maintaining the eſſential intereſts of his kingdoms." The declaration contained in this clauſe met with a moſt vehement and formidable oppoſition in the houſe of commons, not from the powerleſs party uſually voting in oppoſition, but from Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge, the moſt popular members of the preſent adminiſtration, and a very conſiderable number of other gentlemen poſſeſſing poſts under the government. Mr. Pitt declared "the whole ſyſtem and ſcheme of politics now adopted, to be flagrantly abſurd and deſperate. It was no other than to gather and combine the powers of the continent into an alliance of magnitude ſufficient to withſtand the efforts of France and her adherents againſt the electorate of Hanover, at the ſingle expence of Great Britain. The three laſt wars with France had coſt Britain above one hundred and twenty millions of money; the preſent exhibits a proſpect of treaſure ſtill more enormous: and, when we conſider that ſuch immenſe iſſues of money are to be ſupplied by new

new loans, heaped upon a debt of eighty millions, who will anſwer for the conſequence, or venture to enſure us from a national bankruptcy? Mr. Pitt contended, that a naval war we could and ought to ſupport, but a continental war, upon this ſyſtem, we could not. We have ſuffered ourſelves to be deceived by names and ſounds; the general cauſe, the balance of power, the liberty of Europe; and have exhauſted our wealth without any rational object. Should Hanover be actually attacked on account of her connection with England, he acknowledged that we ought not to make peace without procuring for its inhabitants ample ſatisfaction and indemnity. But the idea of defending Hanover by an army of mercenaries, he ridiculed as prepoſterous and impracticable, this ſyſtem, he ſaid, would, in a few years, coſt us more money than the fee-ſimple of the electorate was worth; for it was a place ſo inconſiderable, that its name was ſcarcely to be found in the map. He ardently wiſhed to break thoſe fetters which chained us, like Prometheus, to that barren rock." The clauſe was, however, carried on a diviſion; and the king, in his reply to the addreſs, thanked the two houſes in the ſtrongeſt terms for this ſignal proof of their affection to his perſon and regard for his honor. This tranſaction was followed by the immediate diſmiſſion of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge from their reſpective employments.

It muſt be remarked that, three days before the meeting of parliament, Sir Thomas Robinſon, ſecretary of ſtate, from an honeſt and ſincere conſciouſneſs of his own incapacity to conduct the buſineſs of government in the houſe of commons, had reſigned the ſeals, which were directly transferred to Mr. Fox, ſecretary at war, who unqueſtionably, in reſpect of political ability, had at this time no rival in the houſe of commons, Mr. Pitt only excepted. Though engaged for ſeveral years paſt in the

ſupport

ſupport of the ſame adminiſtration, they were actuated by a very viſible jealouſy on almoſt all occaſions. And it was obſerved, that they agreed in nothing ſo well as in thoſe ſentiments of contempt for the late miniſter, which they were at little pains to conceal. It may eaſily be ſuppoſed, therefore, that Mr. Pitt, who could endure no ſuperior, was very little delighted with the advancement of his competitor, who ſeemed as firmly reſolved to admit no equal: and Mr. Legge entering entirely into the views of Mr. Pitt, it was imagined that the new miniſter would not long be able to maintain his ground againſt an oppoſition ſtrengthened by ſo powerful a ſeceſſion, founded on profeſſions ſo popular and patriotic. Mr. Fox however, ſupported by the favor of the king, the patronage of the duke of Cumberland, and the undivided intereſt of the Pelhams, was able to ſecure a triumphant majority: and the treaties with Ruſſia and Heſſe Caſſel, though ſtrongly and obſtinately oppoſed, were ratified in a houſe conſiſting of four hundred and forty-eight members, by three hundred and twenty againſt one hundred and twenty eight. This great majority could not, however, diſguiſe the impolicy and imbecility of the conduct of the premier, who, perplexed by all the fears and jealouſies incident to a weak yet aſpiring mind, had neither dared, at the demiſe of Mr. Pelham, to enter into a confidential connection with Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, the only men in the houſe of commons by whom he could be effectually ſupported, nor entirely to break with them. On his aſſuming, therefore, the direction of the treaſury, the ſeals of his department as ſecretary were indeed offered to Mr. Fox, but in a mode and under conditions which Mr. Fox thought too degrading to accept—Mr. Pitt being, at the ſame time, amuſed with artificial profeſſions and aſſurances of regard *ſignifying nothing*. On the reſignation of Sir Thomas Robinſon, whoſe utter inability to elevate himſelf

ſelf into the rank of a rival to the duke was his grand recommendation to the high office he held, the ſeals were given to Mr. Fox on his own terms, and his grace was reduced to the neceſſity of *ſoliciting* a favor, when he had it in his power to have *conferred* one*. In the midſt

* In an official conference between the duke of Newcaſtle and Mr. Pitt, his grace mentioning the American expedition on the Ohio, Mr. Pitt ſaid, "Your grace knows that I have no capacity for theſe things; and I do therefore deſire to be informed about them." In the ſummer of 1755, changes being in contemplation, advances were made to Mr. Pitt; and the lord chancellor, on the part of the duke of Newcaſtle, told him, that although the king had taken diſagreeable prejudices, and was very fond of lord Holderneſs and Sir Thomas Robinſon; in caſe any accident ſhould take place, if he would aſſiſt them cordially, it might perhaps happen, that they might procure the ſeals for him, *which he ſo much deſired.*" Mr. Pitt repeating the laſt words of the chancellor, aſked, "Of whom? He did not remember he had ever applied to his lordſhip for them; he was ſure he never had to the duke of Newcaſtle; and he aſſured the chancellor that, if they could prevail upon his majeſty to give them to him under preſent circumſtances, all the uſe he would make of them would be to lay them at his majeſty's feet. If he aſked for any favor, it would be that they ſhould inform his majeſty better. To enable him, or any one elſe, to conduct the buſineſs of the nation in the houſe of commons, they muſt give him proper diſtinction and powers; he ſaid the duke's ſyſtem would not do, and, while he had life and breath to utter, he would oppoſe it. There muſt be men of efficiency and authority in the houſe, who ſhould have acceſs to the crown, habitual, frequent, familiar acceſs, that they might be able to ſpeak and act with effect, to do themſelves and their friends JUSTICE, and not be the victims of a WHISPER."

Lord Melcombe.

Some years previous to this period, on occaſion of a petition preſented to the houſe of commons, relative to a conteſted election for the borough of Seaford, in which the duke of Newcaſtle had too groſsly and publicly interfered, Mr. Potter, ſon of Abp. Potter, the ſucceſſor of Dr. Wake in the metropolitan ſee of Canterbury, a young man whoſe talents and accompliſhments would have rendered him, could he have relinquiſhed the monſtrous ambition "to ſhine a TULLY and a WILMOT too," the ornament of his country—declared, in the debate which aroſe,

midſt of theſe political contentions, intelligence arrived of a diſaſter which excited the moſt vivid emotions of grief and compaſſion amongſt all ranks and orders of perſons throughout the nation. This was no other than the almoſt total deſtruction of the city of Liſbon by a tremendous earthquake, on the firſt of November *. The two principal ſhocks, which were not of the *horizontal*, but *vorticoſe* ſpecies, continued near a quarter of an hour, and they were immediately followed by a moſt extraordinary riſe and inundation of the Tagus. A vaſt number of churches, monaſteries, and other public buildings, and many thouſand private houſes, were, in the ſpace of a few minutes, thrown down—the earth heaving, rocking, and, in many parts, rending aſunder, with incredible noiſe and violence, vaſt volumes of mingled ſmoke and flame iſſuing from the apertures. And this ſuperb city, after the final ceſſation of the concuſſions, preſented to the view of the aſtoniſhed ſpectator only an heap of ruins. The royal

aroſe, "that, if ever the annals of thoſe times were delivered down to poſterity by a faithful hiſtorian, he would have a new portrait to draw—of a miniſter the moſt incapable though the moſt ambitious, the weakeſt though the moſt inſolent, the moſt puſillanimous though the moſt preſumptuous." Mr. Pelham, upon this, roſe up to call to order, ſaying, "that, though no perſon had been as yet actually named, this character muſt be intended for ſomebody; and cautioning this youthful ſpeaker, if he thought proper to mention any name, to be prepared to prove what he ſhould aſſert." Mr. Potter replied, "that he was happy to find he had as yet been guilty of no irregularity, and that even the apprehenſion of it was groundleſs; for it was not within his intention to mention any individual. He did not think himſelf ſo ill a painter as to make it neceſſary for him to write the names of thoſe to whom his portraits belonged." It would, however, be injuſtice not to allow the duke of Newcaſtle the merit of diſintereſtedneſs as to the emoluments of office, and of zeal for the general intereſts of his country.

* 1755.

family

family were compelled to leave the palace with precipitation, and to retire into the neighboring fields for ſafety; and ten thouſand of the inhabitants, as it was computed, were killed by the fall of the buildings, or ſwallowed up in the chaſms formed by the numerous and horrid diſpartings of the earth. A meſſage from the throne informed the two houſes of this dreadful calamity; and, by an act of generoſity and humanity which conferred the higheſt honor on the parliament and nation, the ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds was inſtantly and unanimouſly voted for the uſe of the diſtreſſed inhabitants of that metropolis; and ſupplies to this amount in corn, flour, rice, and other neceſſaries, were ſhipped without delay for Portugal, and proved a moſt welcome and ſeaſonable relief. And his moſt faithful majeſty expreſſed on this occaſion, in terms of the warmeſt emotion, his grateful acknowledgements to the Britiſh crown and nation. Amidſt the millions and millions expended for the purpoſes of devaſtation and deſtruction, a vote of this deſcription ſeems as a paradiſe blooming in the wild.

Early in the year 1756, Mr. Fox, the new miniſter, received a letter from Mr. Rouillé, ſecretary of ſtate for foreign affairs in France, expoſtulating, in the name of his ſovereign, "upon the hoſtile inſtructions given by the king of England to general Braddock and admiral Boſcawen, in direct contradiction to the amicable profeſſions of the Britiſh court. He complained of the inſult offered to the French flag in the capture of two ſhips of war, and of the depredations on the French commerce, without any previous declaration of war, in contempt of the law of nations. He demanded therefore, in the name of the king his maſter, full and entire ſatisfaction for this atrocious violation of the dignity of his crown, as well as a complete reparation for the injuries ſuſtained by his people." To this peremptory requiſition Mr. Fox

replied with firmneſs and ſpirit, " that the king of England would willingly conſent to an equitable accommodation of differences, but would not comply with the demand of reſtitution as a preliminary condition, his Britannic majeſty having taken no ſteps but ſuch as the hoſtilities previouſly committed by the French, and a regard to his own honour, and the rights of his crown and people, rendered juſt and indiſpenſable." War being now conſidered on both ſides as virtually, though not actually declared, the French court iſſued an order to ſeize all Britiſh veſſels in the French harbors, and began with great aſſiduity to repair the fortifications of Dunkirk. The naval preparations at Breſt were proſecuted with unremitting diligence; a vaſt number of tranſports were collected in the different ports in the channel, and numerous bodies of land forces were ſeen moving from all parts towards the coaſts of Normandy, Picardy, and Bretagne. About the cloſe of March, the king ſent a meſſage to parliament, ſtating, " that he had received repeated and authentic advices that a deſign was actually formed by the French court for the invaſion of Great Britain; that he had taken the proper precautions for putting the kingdom in a poſture of defence; that, in order farther to ſtrengthen himſelf, he had made a requiſition of the Heſſian troops which the Landgrave had, by the late treaty, agreed to furniſh."—An addreſs was immediately preſented, thanking his majeſty in warm terms for this ſeaſonable and prudent requiſition. And, in a few days, Mr. Fox, encouraged by the prevailing unanimity of the houſe, moved a ſecond addreſs, " beſeeching his majeſty that, for the more effectual defence of his kingdoms, and for the better ſecurity of the religion and liberties of his ſubjects, he would be graciouſly pleaſed to order twelve battalions of his electoral troops to be forthwith embarked for England." This alſo was carried by a very great majority, and, in the

the courſe of the enſuing month, theſe troops actually arrived. Such was the conſternation excited throughout the kingdom by the idea of an invaſion, that theſe meaſures of the miniſter were received with great and general applauſe: though it appeared, in the view of Europe at large, not leſs unaccountable than diſgraceful, that England ſhould, at the commencement of a foreign war, deem herſelf unequal to provide for her own internal ſafety; and ſhould have recourſe to the aid of foreign mercenaries for the protection of her laws and liberties, when none of the natural means of defence were wanting, when her naval force was confeſſedly far ſuperior to that of the enemy, and her armies were not engaged, as formerly, in fighting Quixotic battles on the continent*. At the cloſe of the ſeſſion, the Speaker, Mr. Onſlow, on preſenting the money-bills for the royal aſſent, addreſſed the king in a ſpeech replete with ſentiments ſo juſt and conſtitutional, expreſſed in language ſo bold and animated, as to merit the moſt diſtinguiſhed regard.—After ſpecifying the extent, and remarking the liberality of the grants, exceeding thoſe of any former period, he declared, "that the COMMONS of ENGLAND hoped the ſword, ſo bravely drawn and ſo effectually ſupported, would be intruſted only in capable and honeſt hands: and that the naval ſtrength of Great Britain will do ſervice as much greater as it is exalted higher than ever before.—His majeſty's faithful commons apprehended that the pre-

* Les François annoncèrent avec oſtentation qu'ils ſe preparoient à faire de leur côté une deſcente en Angleterre. Ils répandirent des troupes le long des côtes de la Bretagne et de la Normandie: ils firent conſtruire des bateaux plats pour tranſporter ces troupes, et aſſemblèrent quelques vaiſſeaux à Breſt. Ces démonſtrations épouvantèrent les Anglois; il y eut des momens où cette nation, qui paſſe pour ſi ſage, ſe crut perdue. Le Roi George afin de la raſſurer eut recours à des troupes Hanovriennes et Heſſoiſes. *Oeuvres de Frederic II. tom. 2.*

ſent critical juncture convinces that alliances on the continent, as they are unnatural, ſo they muſt ever be prejudicial to the true intereſt of England; that there is no gratitude to be expected from, no dependence to be placed on ſuch allies, who, ſupported as they have been by the blood and treaſure of this kingdom, have taken the opportunity of the firſt proſpect of preſent profit to break through every tie. Not diſcouraged, however, by the ingratitude of allies, or the ambition of enemies, they have with pleaſure beheld the ſword drawn to vindicate the national honor and intereſt—proud to let all the world ſee that England is able to fight her own battles, and to ſtand by her own natural ſtrength. Though ever attached to his majeſty's perſon, he declared, nevertheleſs, that there were circumſtances exiſting at which nothing but their confidence in his majeſty's juſtice, and love to his people, could hinder them from being moſt ſeriouſly alarmed. Subſidies to foreign princes, when already burdened with a debt ſcarce to be borne, cannot but be ſeverely felt—an army of foreign troops, a thing UNPRECEDENTED, UNHEARD-OF, UNKNOWN, brought into England, cannot but alarm. Still they had reliance upon his majeſty, and hoped that their burdens might be lightened, their fears removed, as ſoon as poſſible; and, in the mean time, that the ſword of theſe FOREIGNERS ſhould not be intruſted a MOMENT out of his own hand to any other perſon whatſoever." The unanimous approval of the principles and ſentiments inculcated in this ſpirited addreſs reflects certainly great honor on the houſe, and it is much to be regretted that they ſhould ever have been induced, *in practice*, to deviate from them. This ſpeech, however, diſcovers ſymptoms of democratic reſolution, which, had the liberties of the country been openly invaded, would have diſplayed itſelf in a manner fatal to miniſters, terrible to kings!

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Whether the French ever ſeriouſly meditated a deſcent upon the Engliſh coaſt, remains, after all, extremely doubtful; and it appears highly probable, that the preparations which occaſioned this univerſal alarm were deſigned chiefly, or ſolely, as a veil to diſguiſe their real deſign of an attack upon the iſland of Minorca. And, while the attention of the Engliſh miniſtry and nation was ſuperfluouſly occupied with the armaments of Breſt and Dunkirk, it ſeemed entirely to eſcape their notice, that a formidable fleet was, at the very ſame time, equipping at Toulon; till at length its deſtination becoming notorious, a ſquadron very incompetent to the purpoſes of the expedition was detached to the mediterranean, under admiral Byng, an officer of whom the public knew little more than that he was the ſon of the gallant and heroic viſcount Torrington. This armament, conſiſting of ten ſhips of the line, afterwards joined by two or three others, ſailed from Spithead April 7, 1756, and, on the ſecond of May, the admiral arrived at Gibraltar, where he was informed that the French fleet under M. de la Galiſſoniere, conſiſting of thirteen ſhips of the line and tranſports, on board of which were embarked fifteen thouſand land forces, had ſailed from Toulon on the tenth of April, with a view to a deſcent on the iſland of Minorca, and were now actually engaged in the ſiege of Fort St. Philip. On this intelligence, the admiral tranſmitted diſpatches to England, written in a ſtyle of great apparent dejection, "lamenting that he was not ſent out in time to prevent the landing of the French; complaining of the bad condition of the ſhips, and of the total deficiency which he found at Gibraltar of all the neceſſary requiſites for careening and refitting. He ſignified his opinion of the impracticability of throwing any ſupply of troops into the fortreſs, and of the impolicy of attempting it, if feaſible, as the ſiege could not be raiſed without the co-operation of a land-force, and

and any reinforcement of men would conſequently only increaſe the number of priſoners, which muſt ultimately fall into the hands of the enemy." This extraordinary letter being conſidered by the miniſtry as a virtual accuſation of their negligence or incapacity, and as plainly ominous of the loſs of the place, they determined to convince the admiral that ſuch language was not to be held with impunity. On approaching Minorca, the admiral deſcried the Britiſh colors ſtill flying at the caſtle of St. Philip's: and, at the ſame time, the French fleet appearing to the ſouth-eaſt, he formed the line of battle, and, about two o'clock, threw out ſignals to bear away two points from the wind and engage. Admiral Weſt, who commanded the van diviſion, perceiving the inconſiſtency of the two orders, choſe to comply with the laſt, and bore away with his diviſion ſeven points from the wind, as abſolutely neceſſary to bring the enemy to a cloſe and regular engagement. Finding himſelf, however, not ſuſtained by his commander, he could not purſue the advantage he had gained without imminent danger of having his communication with the remainder of the fleet entirely cut off. When the commander was exhorted by his captain to bear down upon the enemy, in order to ſupport the ſhips of the van, admiral Byng coolly replied, that it was his determination to keep the line of battle entire; and that he would avoid the error of Admiral Matthews, who, in his engagement with the combined fleets of France and Spain off Toulon, had broke the line by his precipitation, and had expoſed himſelf by his raſhneſs to a fire which he could not ſuſtain. Under color, therefore, of preſerving the line of battle entire, in order to fight with the more advantage, it could ſcarcely be affirmed that he fought at all—the diſtance at which he engaged being ſo great that he received only ſome few ſhots in his hull, and not a ſingle man was killed or wounded on board the admiral's own ſhip,

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a noble ſecond-rate of ninety guns. M. de la Galiſſoniere was well pleaſed to perceive the Britiſh commander ſo little in earneſt, and, having no urgent reaſons on his part to wiſh for a continuance of the fight, he bore away under an eaſy ſail towards evening; and, though the Britiſh admiral made the ſignal for chaſing, it ſo happened that the French were not overtaken, and, next morning, they were entirely out of ſight. On inquiry into the condition of the fleet after this engagement, it was found, that three of the principal ſhips were ſo much damaged in their maſts, that they could not keep the ſea with ſafety, that about two hundred men were killed and wounded in the engagement, and many others diſabled by ſickneſs. The admiral repreſented to a council of war, held on the occaſion, that his ſquadron was much inferior to the enemy in weight of metal and number of men; and that they had alſo the advantage of ſending their ſick and wounded to Minorca, from whence they received continual ſupplies and reinforcements; that, in his opinion, it was impracticable to relieve the caſtle of St. Philip; and that they ought, therefore, to make the beſt of their way back to Gibraltar, to refit and wait for farther orders from England. The deſpondency of a commander is ever contagious; and, though no effort whatever had been made to accompliſh the object of their deſtination, the council concurred unanimouſly in theſe ſentiments, and the fleet immediately ſet ſail for Gibraltar, the French returning to their former ſtation off Mahon.

When the official diſpatches of the admiral arrived in England, the miniſtry, fully prepared for intelligence of this nature, and preſuming that the ſequel of the hiſtory would correſpond with the prelude, commiſſioned, without delay, admirals Hawke and Saunders to take the command in the Mediterranean; and, at the ſame time, orders were given to ſend home admiral Byng in arreſt;

arreſt; and, on his arrival in England, he was committed cloſe priſoner to Greenwich hoſpital.

Notwithſtanding that the garriſon of St Philip had reaſon to conſider themſelves as abandoned to their fate, a very gallant defence was made by general Blakeney, the Governor, from the middle of April to the beginning of July; when no intelligence being received from England, and no proſpect of relief diſcernible, the works, and even the body of the caſtle being much ſhattered, the embraſures and parapets demoliſhed, many cannon diſmounted, and a lodgment actually made by the enemy on one of the principal redoubts, the garriſon alſo being exhauſted with hard and inceſſant duty, it was reſolved to beat the *chamade*, and a very favorable capitulation was granted by the Duc de Richelieu, the French commander, the garriſon being permitted to march out with all the honors of war, and with the liberty of a free and unmoleſted conveyance to Gibraltar. In a few days after the ſurrender of the iſland, admiral Hawke appeared in view, with a fleet much ſuperior to that of the French; but M. de la Galiſſoniere had ſeaſonably retired: and the Engliſh admiral ſeeing the French colors flying on the caſtle of St. Philip, this gallant officer found every effort precluded; and indeed, had he arrived previous to the ſurrender, there was little probability of his being able even by an abſolute defeat of the French ſquadron, to effect its relief.

This conqueſt was celebrated in France with great triumph and rejoicings; while, in England, it produced a degree of depreſſion much more than proportionate to the real magnitude and importance of the loſs ſuſtained. This depreſſion was accompanied with a prevailing emotion of reſentment, and even of rage, againſt the unfortunate admiral Byng, which could ſcarcely have been exceeded had he, by his criminal miſconduct, ſacrificed

crificed half the navy of Great Britain. In the enſuing ſeſſion of parliament, an inquiry was inſtituted in the houſe of commons into the cauſes of the loſs of the iſland of Minorca; and the houſe having addreſſed his majeſty for copies of all letters and inſtructions relative to this ſubject, ſuch a prodigious maſs of papers was produced as ſeemed rather calculated to overwhelm and ſtifle, than to explain and elucidate the object of this inveſtigation. After a looſe and curſory examination of theſe *documents*, which it would have been the buſineſs of a ſeſſion to methodiſe and digeſt, the houſe reſolved, " 1. That from the intelligence repeatedly received by his majeſty's miniſters, there was juſt reaſon to believe that an invaſion of Great Britain or Ireland was actually intended by the French king; and, 2. That no greater number of ſhips of war could, with ſafety to his majeſty's dominions and the intereſt of his ſubjects, be ſent to the Mediterranean than were actually ſent thither under the command of admiral Byng." Theſe reſolutions were evidently dictated by the ſpirit of reſentment or prejudice, and ſeemed conſtructed ſolely for the exculpation of the miniſters: though it ſtill appeared abſolutely incomprehenſible to all impartial cenſors that, with more than one hundred and fifty ſhips of war in commiſſion, ſo ſmall a force only could be ſpared for ſo great a ſervice. It is certain that Mr. Fox was deſirous to have detached a ſtrong ſquadron to the Mediterranean the firſt week in March, but could not prevail over the fears of the duke of Newcaſtle, and the preſumption of lord Anſon, who aſſured him that Byng's ſquadron would beat any thing that the French had or could have in the Mediterranean. After the loſs of the iſland, the duke of Newcaſtle eagerly affirmed to Mr. Fox, " that no blame could reſt, or be thought to reſt, upon him; that the ſea was not his province; and that the nation and the houſe of commons

mons were well ſatisfied with his conduct." Mr. Fox replied, that thoſe who had the chief direction in an adminiſtration would bear the greateſt ſhare of the blame; and that thoſe people deceived him who told him it was otherwiſe *now*. He had, indeed, defended his grace in the houſe of commons in every thing where he could defend him, but in one thing he never could, which was in his not believing it muſt be war, and in not arming ſooner *."

The clamors of the people for juſtice ſtill continuing, the trial of admiral Byng commenced December 28, 1756, before a court-martial held on board the ſhip St. George, in the harbor of Portſmouth. And, after a long inveſtigation of evidence, the court determined that the admiral, during the engagement on the 20th of May laſt, did not do his utmoſt endeavor to take, ſeize, and deſtroy the ſhips of the French king; and that he did not exert his utmoſt power for the relief of the caſtle of St. Philip—they, therefore, unanimouſly agreed, " that he fell under the letter of the twelfth article of the Naval Code, which, for this offence, poſitively preſcribes *death*, without any alternative left to the diſcretion of the court. But, believing his miſconduct to ariſe neither from cowardice nor diſaffection, they earneſtly recommended him as a proper object of mercy." The admiral heard his doom pronounced without the leaſt alteration of countenance or feature; and, with a low obeiſance to the court, retired in dignified ſilence. Great intereſt was made from various quarters to obtain a remiſſion of the ſentence, but without effect; and a warrant was iſſued by the lords of the admiralty for the execution of the admiral on the fourteenth of March 1757. During this interval he re-

* Lord Melcombe.

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mained on board the Monarque in cuſtody of the marſhal of the admiralty, and was at no time perceived to loſe his compoſure or cheerfulneſs. About noon on the day appointed, the admiral, having taken the laſt farewel of his friends, advanced with a firm ſtep and ſerene aſpect from the great cabin to the quarter-deck, where a guard of marines awaited to execute the ſentence; and kneeling, without any pauſe or delay, on a cuſhion provided for the purpoſe, he tied with his own hands a white handkerchief over his eyes, and immediately dropped another as a ſignal for the executioners, and five balls paſſed inſtantly through his body—the whole of this ſtriking ſcene, from his leaving the cabin, being over, and the admiral depoſited on his bier, in the ſpace of about three minutes. On a general review of this melancholy cataſtrophe, and of the cauſes by which it was produced, the fate of admiral Byng muſt be pronounced beyond all example ſevere and rigorous. Deſtined to execute a commiſſion hopeleſs and impracticable, or at leaſt not to be effected without the moſt deſperate efforts of courage, he ſuffered his mind to be too ſtrongly impreſſed with the difficulties of his ſituation; and though poſſeſſed, probably, of a degree of calm reſolution which would have ſecured his character from imputation upon occaſions which required no extraordinary exertion, he was doubtleſs totally and conſtitutionally incapable of that heroic and ardent enthuſiaſm which kindles at the view of danger, which is inflamed with the thirſt of glory, and which, if it cannot command ſucceſs, is at leaſt ambitious to convince the world that it has left nothing uneſſayed in order to deſerve it. Firmly perſuaded that the object of his enterpriſe was unattainable, this officer appears to have ſunk under his accumulated embarraſſments, and appeared to his friends perhaps, on a retroſpective view of this tranſaction, to

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fall as much below the uſual level of his character, as it was neceſſary, in ſuch circumſtances, to riſe above it. The fortitude of his conduct during the trial, and previous to the execution, ſufficiently reſcue his memory from the vile and indelible taint of cowardice: and, in a paper which he delivered immediately before his death to the marſhal of the admiralty, he declares the ſatisfaction he felt in the conſciouſneſs of having faithfully diſcharged his duty to the utmoſt of his judgment and ability; and he ſtyles himſelf, not without ſome appearance of reaſon, "a victim deſtined to divert the indignation and reſentment of an injured and deluded people."

Notwithſtanding the ſacrifice of this victim, the nation exhibited ſymptoms of the higheſt diſſatisfaction at the conduct of the adminiſtration under whoſe guidance and government nothing but diſgraces and diſaſters had happened. The proſpect of a German war for the protection of Hanover was odious to the majority of the people; the defeat of Braddock, and the ſubſequent loſſes in America, were the ſubject of equal aſtoniſhment and indignation; and the recent capture of Minorca threw the kingdom into a paroxyſm of rage, as the apprehenſion of an invaſion had before done into that of terror. And though the miniſtry, in calling in the aſſiſtance of the Heſſian and Hanoverian auxiliaries, had acted with the general approbation, and even applauſe, their conduct, now the danger had paſſed over, was ſtigmatized as the effect of a ridiculous and reproachful timidity, if not rather of abſolute treachery. It was ſuggeſted that the kingdom had been left purpoſely unprovided, and that the natives of ſouth Britain had been formerly ſubdued by auxiliaries of the ſame country, hired, like theſe, for their defence and protection. And the public ſuſpicion and hatred of theſe foreign mercenaries roſe to ſuch an height, that the modeſt, orderly,

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and inoffenſive behaviour only, by which they were diſtinguiſhed, could, we are aſſured, have ſecured them from acts of outrage. War had been declared in form by Great Britain againſt France in May 1756, and, in the following month, by France againſt Great Britain: and much pains were taken in the manifeſto publiſhed by the latter, to contraſt the moderation and equity of the court of Verſailles with the intemperate violence of the court of London, and particularly ſtigmatizing the ſeizures of the French ſhips of war and commerce, before a declaration of war, as piracy and perfidy. And it muſt be acknowledged, that no very ſolid or ſatisfactory reaſon has been aſſigned for delaying the declaration on the part of England, when hoſtilities were not only reſolved upon but actually commenced. The duke of Newcaſtle and Mr. Fox, now at the head of the adminiſtration, finding the tide of popularity and opinion ſet ſtrongly againſt them, dreaded with reaſon the approaching meeting of parliament, and determined, by a timely reſignation, to avert the diſgrace and danger attending a compulſive diſmiſſion. In November 1756, Mr. Pitt was appointed principal ſecretary of ſtate; Mr. Legge reinſtated in his poſt of chancellor of the Exchequer, which had been occupied during his ſeceſſion by Sir George, afterwards lord Lyttelton; and the duke of Devonſhire was nominated to the high office of firſt lord commiſſioner of the treaſury. On the ſecond of December the ſeſſion was opened by a very animated ſpeech from the throne, in which his majeſty expreſſed his confidence "that the union, fortitude, and affection of his people would, under the guidance of the divine providence, enable him to ſurmount every difficulty, and vindicate the dignity of his crown againſt the ancient enemy of Great Britain. He declared, that the recent loſſes in America demanded reſolutions of vigor and diſpatch; and that he had nothing ſo much

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at heart to remove all grounds of diſſatisfaction from his people: for this end, he had remanded the foreign troops which had been brought hither at the deſire of parliament; and recommended the framing of a national militia, relying with pleaſure on the ſpirit and zeal of his people in defence of his perſon and realm. He took notice of the unnatural union of counſels abroad, threatening the ſubverſion of the empire, and of the *proteſtant intereſt* on the Continent; concluding with profeſſions of his unwearied care and unceaſing endeavors to promote the glory and happineſs of his people." Soon after the commencement of the ſeſſion, Mr. Pitt, now regarded as firſt miniſter, delivered to the houſe a meſſage from the king, importing, that as the formidable preparations and vindictive deſigns of France were evidently bent againſt his majeſty's electoral dominions, and the territories of his *good ally* the king of Pruſſia, his majeſty confided in the zeal and affection of his faithful commons to aſſiſt him in forming and maintaining an army of obſervation for the juſt and neceſſary defence of the ſame, and to enable him to fulfil his engagements with his Pruſſian majeſty, for the ſecurity of the empire, and the ſupport of their common intereſts." Notwithſtanding the great popularity of the preſent adminiſtration, ſuſtained by the ſuperior talents and general integrity of the miniſters, there were not wanting thoſe in the houſe of commons who forcibly urged the contraſt between this recommendation, and the former eloquent reaſonings and invectives of the miniſter againſt the whole fatal ſyſtem of Continental connection; the inexpreſſible folly and madneſs of which appeared in the moſt ſtriking point of view at the preſent criſis, when, after all the millions expended, and the legions ſacrificed to the preſervation of a chimerical balance of power, with which the ſafety of

England

England was ſuppoſed, or pretended, to be connected, we were left deſtitute of an ally, excepting a prince ſo embarraſſed in his own affairs, that, far from being able to grant aſſiſtance to us, he would certainly need to be ſupported by us. England, they aſſerted, was under no obligation, either of intereſt or duty, to exhauſt her treaſure and her blood in the defence of Hanover. That electorate was ſufficiently ſecured in common with the other electorates, principalities, and co-eſtates, of the Germanic body, by the conſtitutions of the empire. It was not imagined, that the princes of the empire, or even that Auſtria itſelf, notwithſtanding her recent and forced alliance with France, would ſuffer ſo formidable a power to acquire a permanent eſtabliſhment in Germany; that, if any reluctance appeared to engage in the defence of a cauſe in which they had an immediate and common intereſt, it aroſe entirely from the firmneſs of their perſuaſion, that the interpoſition of England would render all interference on their part ſuperfluous. It was boldly affirmed, that the whole of the public debt contracted ſince the acceſſion of the houſe of Hanover, was incurred in purſuance of meaſures totally foreign to the intereſts of theſe kingdoms: and that if Hanover muſt at all events become the object of the ſolicitude of Great Britain, it would be infinitely better that France ſhould be allowed to acquire and retain peaceable poſſeſſion of the electorate during the continuance of the war, and to indemnify the inhabitants for the loſſes and ſufferings which they might incur at the concluſion of it, than to maintain vaſt armies at an immenſe expence for its defence and ſecurity, of which, after all, it remained extremely problematic whether we were equal to the accompliſhment." The meſſage, nevertheleſs, was received by the houſe with loyal approbation, and the ſupplies granted to the utmoſt extent demanded by the miniſter. It was, however,

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ſtrongly ſuſpected, that the meaſure thus coldly recommended, or rather ſtated to the houſe, had been previouſly objected againſt in the cabinet; and, in a ſhort time, it could no longer be concealed that the new adminiſtration was agitated by a great internal convulſion; and that the favorite project of the king for ſtrengthening the army in Germany with large reinforcements of troops from England was not aſſented to by the patriot miniſters Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge. His majeſty, irritated by the pertinacity of their oppoſition, at length reſolved upon an effort to relieve himſelf from this unwelcome and imperious control; and, in April 1757, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge were ſuddenly diſmiſſed from their offices; the chancellorſhip of the Exchequer being conſigned, *pro tempore*, to the chief juſtice of England. And Mr. Fox, again deſtined to take the lead in affairs, and inveſted with full and unlimited powers, had made propoſals to his former coadjutor, the duke of Newcaſtle, to reſume his ſtation at the head of the treaſury. But his grace, doubting the ſtability of the new arrangement, thought it expedient to demur; and, in the mean time, commenced a ſecret negotiation with the ex-miniſters, and, after an interregnum of ſome weeks agitated by the violence of political conflict and cabal, joined them openly with all his powerful connections. The alarm of the nation at the diſmiſſion of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge is ſcarcely conceivable. Numberleſs addreſſes from all parts were preſented to his majeſty, beſeeching him to reinſtate theſe miniſters in their employments. The principal cities and corporations in the kingdom preſented them with the freedom of their reſpective guilds in golden boxes. Party ſpirit ſeemed to be extinguiſhed; for all voices, without one diſſonant murmur, were now united in their praiſe. Mr. Fox, perceiving it impoſſible to ſtem the torrent, wiſely counſelled the monarch to yield, without reſiſtance, to

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the wiſhes of the people. And, in June, Mr. Pitt reſumed the ſeals of ſecretary of ſtate; Mr. Legge and the duke of Newcaſtle their former ſtations at the board of treaſury; lord Anſon was placed at the head of the admiralty; Sir Robert Henley appointed keeper of the Great Seal in the room of lord Hardwicke; and Mr. Fox himſelf, acceding to the new order of things, was gratified with the lucrative office of paymaſter-general of the army *. In conſequence of this general coalition of parties, all oppoſition in parliament ſeemed annihilated, and Mr. Pitt, to whom the entire direction of the war was now entruſted, had free and full ſcope to exert his utmoſt ability in the ſervice of his country. The events, however, which marked the commencement of his adminiſtration were by no means fortunate. A formidable armament, equipped with incredible diligence, ſailed from the harbor of Portſmouth the beginning of September, conſiſting of eighteen ſhips of the line, and

* "Public matters, ſays lord Cheſterfield in a letter to his friend Mr. Dayrolles, February 1757, have been, and are ſtill, too undecypherable for me to underſtand, conſequently to relate. Fox, out of place, taking the lead in the houſe of commons; Pitt, ſecretary of ſtate, declares that he is no miniſter, and has no miniſterial influence. The duke of Newcaſtle and lord Hardwicke lie by and declare themſelves for neither party.—April 1757, Our public ſituation is now perhaps, more ridiculous and unaccountable than ever. Two poſts which were once thought conſiderable ones, which uſed to be ſolicited by many, and wiſhed for by more, I mean thoſe of ſecretary of ſtate and chancellor of the Exchequer, have been proffered about to a degree of profuſion, and yet refuſed. The late poſſeſſors of them were moſt imprudently turned out before the end of the ſeſſion, and are thereby become not only the moſt, but, perhaps, the only two, popular men now in this kingdom.—July 1757, after many negotiations, breakings off, and recommencements, things are at laſt fixed. About three weeks ago, Fox was in a manner declared miniſter, to the excluſion

a large body of land forces, under the command of Sir Edward Hawke and Sir John Mordaunt. When Mr. Pitt ordered the fleet to be equipped, and appointed the period for its being at the place of rendezvous, lord Anſon ſaid it was impoſſible to comply with the requiſition: but Mr. Pitt, with great warmth, replied, "That it might be done; and, if the ſhips were not ready at the time ſpecified, he ſhould ſignify his neglect to the king, and *impeach* his lordſhip in the houſe of commons." The menace produced its effect, and on the twenty-third of the ſame month, the fleet anchored off the river Charente with a view to attempt the reduction of the city of Rochefort. Many days paſſed in ſounding the river, in reconnoitring the coaſts, in removing the troops from the tranſports to the boats, and the boats to the tranſports; and in deliberations upon the intent and practicability of the inſtructions under which they were to act. At length it was concluded to *riſque an attack* upon the iſle of Aix, ſituated in the mouth of the Charente, and defended by a ſmall fort and garriſon; and this ſervice, equal in importance to that of picking up ſhells on the ſhore, being performed, and the works demoliſhed, a council of war was held, in which it was reſolved, agreeably to that ſpirit of *quietiſm* by which it

ſion of the duke of Newcaſtle and Pitt, and the ſeals of the chancellorſhip of the Exchequer were to have been given to him the next day. Upon this Holderneſs reſigned; the duke of Rutland, and ſome others, declared their intentions of following his example, and many refuſed the places that were offered them by Fox as the firſt miniſter for thoſe two or three days. Upon theſe diſcouragements, Fox went to the king, and told him, that it was impoſſible for him, in ſuch a ſituation, to undertake the management of affairs. The king hereupon, though very unwillingly, ſent for the duke of Newcaſtle again; and at laſt, after a thouſand difficulties, things are as you have ſeen in the papers." —*Lord Cheſterfield's Miſcellaneous Works.*

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has been obſerved that councils of war are in general diſtinguiſhed *, to return without delay to England. Great expectations having been entertained of the event of this expedition, the nation was proportionably diſappointed, and enraged at its failure: and the public cenſure was directed chiefly, if not ſolely, againſt the general, it being admitted that the miniſter had left nothing undone to enſure the ſucceſs of it, and that the admiral had acted in no reſpect inconſiſtently with his high character for judgment and ſpirit. It was ſaid that the inactivity and timidity of Sir John Mordaunt were leſs pardonable than the raſhneſs and preſumption of general Braddock, who, if he failed to attain his object, had at leaſt ſuſtained the national reputation by his courage; and ſo high did the clamor ariſe, that it was thought neceſſary to inſtitute a court-martial for the trial of this commander, by whom he was, to the amazement of the public, unanimouſly acquitted: and the ſentence was univerſally contraſted with that of the former court, which had condemned an admiral to death for not doing his *utmoſt*; whereas a general was now acquitted, though it was univerſally acknowledged that he had done *nothing*. But the failure of the enterpriſe againſt Rochefort, however it might excite the chagrin of the public, was of little eſtimation or importance in the view of the court, when compared with the diſaſters which had befallen the army of obſervation in Germany. Early in the ſpring (1757) his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland had embarked for Hanover, in or-

* Lord Clive declared to the parliamentary committee of enquiry, inſtituted A. D. 1773, "that he never called a council of war but once, which was previous to his paſſing the Ganges on his famous expedition to Moorſhedabad; and, if he had then followed the deciſion of the council, the company had been undone."

der to take upon him the command of the confederate troops, now, in conſequence of the recent junction of the Pruſſians, amounting to about fifty thouſand men. Mareſchal d'Etrees, the French commander, an officer of great ability, advancing from the banks of the Rhine, the paſſage of which the king of Pruſſia in vain urged the duke to defend, the confederate army was compelled to retire beyond the Weſer: and the French general having paſſed this river alſo without oppoſition, attacked the duke in his camp at Haſtenbeck, July 25; and, while the battle was yet doubtful, the Engliſh commander, from a defect, not of courage, but of military ſkill and judgment, is charged with giving orders for ſounding a retreat. A redoubt in centre of the allied army having been carried by the French, it was inſtantly retaken, ſword in hand, by the hereditary prince of Brunſwick, "who by this *coup d'eſſai* diſcovered, ſays the king of Pruſſia, that nature had deſtined him for a hero." The duke being ſtill preſſed by the French army, retreated firſt to Nienburg, then to Verden, and at length to Stade. The mareſchal d'Etrees, regarding with a watchful and penetrating eye the motions of the duke, when urged to embrace a favorable moment of attack, replied that there was no occaſion for fighting. And, in fact, his royal highneſs was quickly reduced, as the mareſchal foreſaw, to a moſt diſtreſſing dilemma. In front his farther march was arreſted by the German ocean; on the right and left he was incloſed by the rivers Elbe and Weſer; and the French having taken poſſeſſion of the paſſes as the confederate army receded, the duke had no option remaining but to ſubmit to terms of capitulation, which were ſigned, under the mediation of Denmark, in the month of September (1757), at Cloiſter-Seven, by which the electorate of Hanover was left in the hands of the French; and the whole confederate army, amounting to about forty thouſand Heſſians,

Heſſians, Hanoverians, and Brunſwickers, were diſarmed and diſbanded—the king of Pruſſia having previouſly withdrawn his troops, from the apprehenſion of this cataſtrophe. On his return to England, the duke of Cumberland not receiving thoſe marks of gratitude and acknowledgment which he thought due to his eminent ſervices, reſigned all his military employments in high diſguſt, and henceforth took no farther public part in any civil or military tranſaction. The inglorious convention of Cloiſter-Seven ſeemed as it were the criſis of the war; and England was now reduced to that extreme point of depreſſion from which ſhe was deſtined, in gradual retroceſſion, to attain to a height of elevation unknown to the moſt brilliant æras of her former hiſtory.

After the unſucceſsful campaign of 1757 in America, the earl of Loudon returned to England, leaving the chief command in the hands of general Abercrombie, from whom it quickly devolved to major-general, now lord Amherſt, who, on the arrival of admiral Boſcawen from England, early in the year 1758, with very powerful reinforcements, concerted with general Abercrombie a plan of ſpirited and active operations for the enſuing campaign. The troops now aſſembled, both regulars and provincials, amounted to no leſs than fifty thouſand men, a military force to which the new world had ſeen nothing comparable; and much too great to be employed on any ſingle object. The garriſon of Louiſburg being greatly reduced in conſequence of the perfect ſecurity it was ſuppoſed to enjoy after the abandonment of the expedition of the laſt ſummer, it was reſolved to renew the attempt. And general Amherſt, with twelve thouſand men, being convoyed by the fleet under admiral Boſcawen, anchored June 2, in ſight of the fortreſs, which in a few days was formally inveſted. The approaches were made with great ſkill and circumſpection;

tion; and the Chevalier Drucourt, the governor, ſeeing no proſpect of relief, aſſented to a capitulation on the twenty-ſeventh of July. Excluſive of the city of Louiſburg and the whole iſland of Cape Breton, ſix ſhips of the line and five frigates, which were ſtationed in the harbor for the protection of the place, were either deſtroyed or taken by the Engliſh. General Abercrombie himſelf undertook, at the head of a ſtill greater force, to reduce the French forts on the lakes George and Champlain. The firſt attempted was Ticonderago; a fortreſs which commands the communication between the two lakes, ſurrounded on three ſides with water, and, in front, ſecured by a moraſs, and farther defended, upon this emergency, with a breaſt-work, entrenchments, and *abbatis*. The general, however, determined upon an aſſault; but met with a ſevere repulſe, and was compelled to retreat with the loſs of one thouſand eight hundred men; with which diſaſter he was ſo much diſpirited, that he immediately reimbarked his troops, though ſtill much ſuperior in force to the enemy, and returned to the camp at Lake George, from whence he had taken his departure.

An event ſtill the ſubject of tender recollection and regret in America, took place on this occaſion in the death of lord Howe, a young nobleman who combined the moſt amiable manners with the moſt ſhining talents and the moſt heroic courage. His memory was honored by a vote of the aſſembly of Maſſachuſetts for the erection of a ſuperb cenotaph, at the expence of the province, amongſt the heroes and patriots of Britain, in the collegiate church of Weſtminſter.

A conſiderable corps, however, detached by general Abercrombie, under colonel Bradſtreet, againſt Fort Frontenac, ſituated on the northern bank of the river St. Laurence, at the preciſe point of its departure from Lake Ontario, reduced this important poſt with little loſs.

loſs. And Brigadier Forbes, who was deſtined to command the expedition againſt Fort du Queſne, on the Ohio, finding it, on his arrival, diſmantled and abandoned, immediately repaired and garriſoned the fort, changing its name, in compliment to the miniſter, to Pittſburgh. And, in October, peace was eſtabliſhed by a formal treaty between Great Britain and the Indian nations inhabiting the rich and fertile plains between the Lakes and the Ohio. At the grand conference which preceded this treaty, the following oration, not unworthy of hiſtoric notice, was addreſſed to the Engliſh commiſſioners by one of the Sachems, delegated to conduct this negotiation on the part of the Indians: "Brethren—I have raiſed my voice, and all the Indians have heard me as far as the Twightwees, and have regarded my voice, and are now come to this place. Brethren, the cauſe why the Indians of Ohio left you was owing to yourſelves. The governor of Virginia ſettled in our lands, and diſregarded our meſſages: but, when the French came to us, they traded with our people, uſed them kindly, and gained their affections. Our couſins the Miniſinks tell us, they were wronged of a great deal of land, and puſhed back by the Engliſh, ſettling ſo faſt upon them as not to know whether they have any lands remaining in ſurety. You deal hardly with us; you claim all the wild animals of the foreſts, and will not let us come on your lands ſo much as to hunt after them; you will not let us peel the bark of a ſingle tree to cover our cabins—ſurely this is hard! Our fathers, when they ſold the land, did not purpoſe to deprive themſelves of hunting the wild deer, or uſing a branch of wood. Brethren, we have already acquainted you with our grievances; and we have referred our cauſe to the great king. I deſire to know if king GEORGE has yet decided this matter, and whether juſtice will be done to the Miniſinks?"

Governor

Governor Bernard, in return, aſſured them that full ſatisfaction ſhould be given to the Miniſinks; and governor Denny, delivering to the chief a belt and ſtring of *wampum*, declared "the ancient union of the Britiſh and Indian nations to be renewed and confirmed, and that freſh earth was put to the roots of the tree of peace, in order that it may bear up againſt every ſtorm, and flouriſh as long as the ſun ſhines, and the rivers continue to flow."

Theſe events ſufficiently indicated that the fortune of the war had at length changed, and the French, who had been hitherto the aſſailants, now ſaw the neceſſity of concentrating their force, in order to defend themſelves from future attack and invaſion. General Amherſt, who poſſeſſed in an high degree the ſpirit of military enterpriſe, had, on aſſuming the chief command, formed a project, which would doubtleſs have appeared romantic and impracticable to his predeceſſors, for the entire conqueſt of Canada in one campaign.

For the accompliſhment of this grand ſcheme, Brigadier-general Wolfe, an officer who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf, in a very remarkable manner, at the late ſiege of Louiſburg, was directed, as ſoon as the navigation of the St. Laurence ſhould be clear of ice, to proceed with a ſtrong ſquadron of ſhips of war, and a large body of land forces, to undertake the ſiege of Quebec, the capital of French America. General Amherſt, in perſon, propoſed, with the principal army, to reduce the forts of Ticonderago and Crown Point; to croſs the lake Champlain, and, marching along the river Richelieu, and the ſouthern banks of the St. Laurence, to join general Wolfe under the walls of Quebec. Laſtly, Brigadier-general Prideaux, with another ſeparate corps, reinforced by a numerous body of Indians, aſſembled and conducted by the influence and authority of Sir William

William Johnſon, was deſtined to inveſt the important poſt and fortreſs of Niagara, which commanded the navigation of the lakes, and the communication of the rivers St. Laurence and Miſſiſippi. After the reduction of Niagara, the forces were ordered to be embarked on the Lake Ontario, and, proceeding down the river St. Laurence, to undertake the ſiege of Montreal, the ſecond city of Canada, and then to join the grand army before Quebec. It is ſcarcely to be imagined that ſo magnificent and daring a project ſhould, in the execution, prove completely ſucceſsful in all its parts. It was however doubtleſs the conception of a great military genius; and the final reſult of this plan forms the higheſt eulogium which can be beſtowed upon it.

General Amherſt, in the month of July, arrived at Ticonderago, which at firſt the enemy ſeemed preparing reſolutely to defend: but, in the night of the 27th, they ſuddenly and unaccountably abandoned this ſtrong and hitherto impregnable poſt, and retired to Crown Point. The general, after giving the neceſſary orders for the ſecurity of the fortreſs, embarked with the army, and reached Crown Point on the 4th of Auguſt; but by this time Crown Point alſo was evacuated, and the Engliſh commander was informed that the French had retired to the Iſle aux Noix, at the northern extremity of the lake Champlain, where they were reported to be encamped in force. The general, after making the moſt vigorous and indefatigable exertions to ſecure a naval ſuperiority on the lake, again embarked his troops, in order to proceed to the attack of Iſle aux Noix: but a continued ſucceſſion of ſtorms and tempeſts compelled him to deſiſt from the proſecution of his deſign, and he returned to Crown Point, in the vicinity of which he took up his winter-quarters, in order to facilitate the early commencement of the enſuing campaign. Here he had the ſatisfaction

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to learn that the expedition againſt Niagara had terminated happily; for though General Prideaux was unfortunately ſlain by the burſting of a ſhell in viſiting the trenches, general Johnſon, who ſucceeded to the command, after defeating a body of forces which attempted the relief of the fort, had become maſter of it by capitulation, July 25; the projected deſign againſt Montreal, in conſequence of various combining obſtacles, nevertheleſs remaining for the preſent ſuſpended.

But by far the moſt difficult and dangerous branch of the plan originally concerted, was allotted to general Wolfe, whoſe riſing talents and reputation now began to excite univerſal attention. On the 26th of June, the armament deſtined for the invaſion of Canada arrived at the iſland of Orleans, formed by the branches of the river St. Laurence, and extending to the baſon of Quebec. This metropolis is ſituated at the confluence of the rivers St. Laurence and St. Charles. The fortifications are ſtrong, and the city elegant and extenſive. It conſiſts of an upper and a lower town; the lower town is built upon the ſtrand, which ſtretches along the baſe of the lofty rock on which the upper town is ſituated. This rock continues with a bold and ſteep front far to the weſtward, parallel to the river St. Laurence. On this ſide, therefore, the city might well be deemed abſolutely inacceſſible. On the other, it was protected by the river St. Charles, the channel of which is rough and broken, and its borders interſected with ravines. On the left bank of this river the French army, amounting to about 10,000 men, under the command of M. de Montcalm, were poſted; the encampment extending to the river of Montmorenci to the eaſt, and their rear was covered with impenetrable woods.

The Engliſh general, perfectly ſenſible that unleſs the enemy could be brought to a deciſive engagement, his enterpriſe muſt prove abortive, reſolved, after

after some feints, in vain made to induce his able and cautious antagonist to relinquish this advantageous post, to attack the French in their entrenchments, near the falls of Montmorenci. On the last day of July, dispositions being made for a general assault, the troops were landed under the cover of the cannon of the ships of war; but, notwithstanding the express orders given, not to march forward till the whole army was formed, the English grenadiers, rushing to the attack with irregular impetuosity, were soon thrown into confusion by the enemy's fire, and suffered very severely in their retreat. The general advancing in person with the remaining brigades, the fugitives formed again in the rear of the army; but the plan of attack was effectually disconcerted; and the English commander was compelled to give orders for repassing the river to the island of Orleans, which was effected not without considerable loss.

At this period the general transmitted dispatches to England, penned with remarkable perspicuity and elegance, but in a tone of depression which demonstrated a perfect sense of the embarrassments of his situation. "We have, said he, almost the whole force of Canada to oppose. In such a choice of difficulties I own myself at a loss how to determine. The affairs of Great Britain, I know, require the most vigorous measures; but the courage of a handful of brave men should be exerted only where there is some hope of a favorable event *."

* Though the *disappointment* of general Wolfe must have been inexpressibly great, at the failure of the concerted plan of co-operation on the part of general Amherst; yet it is highly pleasing to observe, that throughout this celebrated letter not a symptom is to be found of *dissatisfaction* at the conduct of that commander, whose utmost exertions general Wolfe was well assured would not be wanting to its accomplishment. The whole exhibits a picture of gloomy grandeur, of a mind revolving and meditating designs, of the temerity of which it is perfectly conscious.

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The diſaſter of Montmorenci made a deep impreſſion on the lofty and ſuſceptible mind of the Engliſh general. He was obſerved often to ſigh; and, to his intimate friends, he declared his determination to die rather than endure the cenſure and reproach which invariably attend the want of ſucceſs. An effort tranſcendently bold, and approaching in other circumſtances to raſhneſs and deſperation, yet remained to be tried. A plan was formed, in concert with the naval commander admiral Saunders, for landing the troops on the northern bank of the river, above the city, and, by ſcaling the heights hitherto ſuppoſed inacceſſible, to gain poſſeſſion of the grounds at the back of the town, where it was but ſlightly fortified. The admiral, in order to deceive the enemy, moved up the river ſeveral leagues beyond the ſpot fixed upon for the landing; but, during the night, he fell down with the ſtream, in order to protect the diſembarkment of the troops, which was happily accompliſhed in ſecrecy and ſilence. The precipice now remained to be aſcended; and, with infinite labor and difficulty, the troops ſuſtaining themſelves by the rugged projections of the rock, and the branches of the trees and plants which ſprang from the innumerable clefts into which it was every-where broken, they at laſt attained the ſummit, and immediately formed in order of battle. The intelligence being quickly conveyed to M. de Montcalm that the Engliſh army was in actual poſſeſſion of the heights of Abraham, that commander declared himſelf unable to expreſs his aſtoniſhment, and immediately comprehended the neceſſity of riſquing an engagement, in order to ſave the city.

Abandoning, therefore, his ſtrong camp of Montmorenci, he paſſed the river St. Charles, and advanced to the attack of the Engliſh army, with great intrepidity. A very warm engagement enſued; and general Wolfe, who ſtood conſpicuous in the front of the line, received a ſhot

a ſhot in the wriſt, which, wrapping a handkerchief around it, he ſeemed not to notice, and continued giving orders without the leaſt emotion. But advancing at the head of the grenadiers, another ball pierced his breaſt, and compelled him to retire to a ſpot a little diſtant from the field of action, where he expreſſed the moſt eager anxiety to learn the fate of the battle. He was, after an interval of ſuſpenſe, told that the enemy were viſibly broken: and reclining, from extreme faintneſs, his head on the arm of an officer ſtanding near him, he was in a ſhort time aroufed with the diſtant ſound of They fly! they fly!—"Who fly?" exclaimed the dying hero—On being told "The French,"—"Then, ſaid he, I depart content," and almoſt immediately expired in the arms of victory. A death more glorious, and attended with circumſtances more picturefque and intereſting, is no-where to be found in the annals of hiſtory. The death of Epaminondas only, to which that of Wolfe has frequently been compared, ſeems to diſpute the pre-eminence *.

* Sic certus hoſtes terga dare in fugam
Thebanus Heros "extrahe telum" ait:
Vultuque ſubridens amœno
Magnam animam exhilaratus efflat.

Ambo beati! Plaudite, milites,
Morte invidendâ plaudite nobilem!
Te rura, fortunate, et urbes,
Te recinet nemus omne, WOLFI.

Vide CANADIA, an ode publiſhed in the year 1760, and fraught with all the beauties of elegant and claſſic compoſition. The glorious deaths of other heroes preſs at the ſame time upon the imagination—of a Bayard; a Sydney; a Gaſton de Foix;—of a Guſtavus Adolphus; and of Conſtantine the laſt emperor of the Greeks, which, though not adorned by the purple coloring of ſucceſs, is perhaps beyond all others intrinſically illuſtrious.

The

The generals Monckton and Townſhend, after the loſs of their commander, continued the fight with unabating ardor; and M. de Montcalm, the French commander, receiving a mortal wound, the French gave way on all ſides, and a moſt complete victory was gained, at a comparatively inconſiderable expence. The city of Quebec, ſtruck with conſternation at this event, almoſt immediately capitulated, though ſtill provided with the means of a vigorous defence; and the ſhattered remains of the French army retired with precipitation to Montreal.

In England this intelligence, which very cloſely followed the former doubtful diſpatches of the general, excited that delirium of joy which the return of national proſperity, after a long ſeries of national diſaſters, is alone adequate to inſpire. This was damped only by the death of the hero who had achieved the conqueſt; but ſo faſcinating were the glories with which it was invironed, that in fact it rather heightened than diminiſhed the exultation of the triumph.

General Murray, who had been appointed to the government of Quebec, took every precaution that prudence could ſuggeſt to ſecure and maintain this important poſſeſſion. Nor were they found ſuperfluous; for, early in the ſpring of the year 1760, the chevalier de Levis, who ſucceeded M. de Montcalm as commander of the French forces, aſſembled with great diligence, from all quarters, the troops remaining in Canada, and began his march from Montreal, in the month of April, hoping to recapture Quebec before the garriſon could receive the expected ſuccors from England. General Murray, though much inferior in numbers, took poſſeſſion of an advantageous poſt in the vicinity of Quebec, and determined to riſque an engagement, which, if it proved unſucceſsful, would not prevent his retiring within the walls of the city, which he determined to defend to the laſt extremity.—

The

The great diſparity of force ſoon decided the conflict in favor of the French, and the general retreated to Quebec, which was immediately inveſted by the French army. But on the intelligence that an Engliſh fleet deſtined for its relief was already in the gulph of St. Laurence, they raiſed the ſiege with great precipitation, leaving their proviſions, ſtores, and artillery, in the hands of general Murray. And the marquis de Vandreuil, governor-general of Canada, now centered all his hopes in the defence of Montreal, which, in the expectation of an attack from general Amberſt, he had ſtrengthened with new fortifications, had recruited his army with new levies of troops, and had collected large magazines of military ſtores. The Engliſh commander, after detaching colonel Haviland with a ſtrong force to beſiege the poſt occupied by the French at Iſle aux Noix, proceeded himſelf to the banks of the lake Ontario, where he embarked his troops, and croſſing the lakes reduced the *Iſle Royale*, commanding the entrance of the great river St. Laurence, the navigation of which, to the iſland of Montreal, is rendered extremely dangerous, by the number of rapids and falls. The general, however, arrived with his army at Montreal, the beginning of September, with inconſiderable loſs; and in a ſhort time he was joined by general Murray, who had received orders to co-operate with him on the ſide of Quebec. And colonel Haviland alſo, after the reduction of Iſle aux Noix, had advanced with the forces under his command, to the ſouth ſide of the river, oppoſite to Montreal. The marquis de Vandreuil perceiving himſelf completely inveſted, and deſpairing of relief, demanded a capitulation, which was granted upon very favorable terms. And thus the conqueſt of the province of Canada was finally completed—a conqueſt the moſt glorious and the moſt important ever achieved by the arms of Great Britain.

Uninterrupted

Uninterrupted proſperity alſo, during the ſame period, attended the operations of the war, on the part of England, in the other quarters of the globe. Early in the year 1758, a plan had been preſented to the miniſter, by one Cumming, an African merchant, of the pacific ſect of quakers, for the reduction of Fort Louis, on the river Senegal; which being examined and approved, a ſmall ſquadron was equipped, under the command of captain Marſh, hoiſting a broad pennant; Mr. Cumming embarking alſo on board the commodore's ſhip, as a promoter and director of the expedition. After diſperſing ſome armed veſſels, which oppoſed their entrance into the river, the fort and adjoining factory ſurrendered without a blow to the commodore; and Mr. Cumming defended his recommendation as perfectly conſonant to his religious principles, affirming himſelf to have been previouſly perſuaded that it would prove a bloodleſs conqueſt.

And in the latter end of this year, a ſucceſsful attempt was made, under the conduct of commodore Keppel, with a more conſiderable force, upon the iſland of Goree, ſituated to the ſouth of the Senegal. The iſland was defended by two ſmall forts, and ſeveral batteries, mounted with more than one hundred pieces of cannon; but they were ſoon ſilenced by a furious cannonade from the ſhips of war. During the attack, the oppoſite ſhores were covered with multitudes of the natives, who expreſſed with loud clamor and uncouth geſticulations their aſtoniſhment at the terrible execution performed by the Britiſh ſquadron.

Nearly at the ſame time, a very powerful armament, with ſix regiments of infantry on board under the command of generals Hopſon and Barrington, ſailed from St. Helens, and being joined on their arrival in Carliſle Bay, in the iſland of Barbadoes, by a conſiderable additional force under commodore Moore, the united ſquadrons proceeded

proceeded to Martinique; but finding this important iſland better prepared for its defence than was expected, they directed their courſe to Gaudaloupe, of which, after a long and obſtinate reſiſtance, they made themſelves maſters—the neighboring iſles of Deſeada and Marigalante ſurrendering alſo on capitulation. Notwithſtanding the ill ſucceſs of the expedition againſt Rochefort, the miniſter determined upon another attempt of the ſame nature; the execution of which was entruſted to commodore, now lord Howe, an officer of approved judgment and gallantry, who diſembarking the troops, agreeably to his inſtructions, on the coaſt of Normandy, took poſſeſſion of the town of Cherburg without oppoſition: and, after deſtroying the harbor and baſon of that place, upon which much labor and much money had been expended, the fleet ſet ſail for England; but, in a ſhort time, it again weighed and ſtood to the ſouthward; and the land forces, under general Bligh, diſembarked under the cannon of the ſhipping, two leagues to the weſtward of St. Maloes, which they found, however, too ſtrongly fortified to be carried by a *coup de main*. The general, therefore, determined to penetrate into the open country, and advanced, for what purpoſe is not eaſy to divine, to a conſiderable diſtance beyond the poſſibility of protection from the fleet. The unimportant operations of this predatory war ſoon received an alarming interruption from the intelligence that the Duc d'Aguillon, governor of Bretagne, was in full march, at the head of eighteen regular battalions and ſquadrons, to intercept their retreat. The general immediately began his march for the bay of St. Cas, where the Engliſh fleet lay at anchor: but, before he could complete the reimbarkation of his troops, the rear-guard, conſiſting of fifteen hundred men, was attacked by the French, and the far greater part of them killed or taken. The utility of ex-

peditions of this nature, even when moſt ſucceſsful, ſeems very liable to queſtion; and the expence attending the preſent unfortunate attempt, in particular, was ſo great, and the damage ſuſtained by the enemy ſo trivial, that it was by ſome perſons inſolently ſtyled "a ſcheme to break windows with guineas."

In the enſuing ſummer (1759), admiral Rodney was detached with a ſquadron, under pretext of impeding the rendezvous of the tranſports collecting in its vicinity, to bombard the town of Havre de Grace, which was, at the firſt alarm, deſerted by the inhabitants, in great conſternation. Nineteen hundred ſhells, and eleven hundred carcaſes, were, it is ſaid, expended in this direful act of unavailing vengeance.

In the ſucceeding month of Auguſt, admiral Boſcawen, who now commanded in the Mediterranean, had, however, an opportunity of aſſerting the honor of the Britiſh flag in a manner much more effectual. M. de la Clue, endeavoring to paſs the ſtrait of Gibraltar with a conſiderable ſquadron, was intercepted by the Engliſh admiral off Cape Lagos; and, after a fierce conflict, the French admiral's own ſhip, the Ocean of eighty guns, and three other capital ſhips, ſtruck their colors to the Engliſh. This victory was ſoon ſucceeded by another of yet greater importance. Vaſt preparations had been, for ſome time paſt, making in the French ports in the channel, with a view, as was imagined, to a deſcent in ſome part of Great Britain or Ireland. And a powerful fleet was actually equipped in the harbor of Breſt, which was long prevented from putting to ſea by the vigilance of Sir Edward Hawke, who had, with a ſuperior force, blockaded that port during the greater part of the ſummer. At length, being driven from this ſtation by ſtreſs of weather, M. de Conflans, the French admiral, embraced the opportunity of weighing anchor from Breſt Water with an armament

armament of twenty-one ſhips of the line. On the firſt intelligence of their departure, Sir Edward Hawke ſailed in purſuit of them. As ſoon as the French admiral perceived the Engliſh fleet off Quiberon Bay, he retired cloſe in ſhore, in order to avoid an engagement. The Engliſh commander, however, was not deterred by his knowledge of the coaſt, which is in this part rendered extremely dangerous by rocks, ſhoals, and quickſands, from following and attacking the enemy with the moſt undaunted reſolution; the weather alſo was uncommonly tempeſtuous, the days much diminiſhed in length, and the Engliſh admiral had to encounter the additional diſadvantage of a lee ſhore. About three o'clock on the twentieth of November 1759 the battle began, and continued till the fleets were enveloped in darkneſs, which ſeaſonably intervened to ſave the French fleet from total deſtruction. Two capital ſhips, the Superbe and Theſée, were ſunk during the action; the Hero ſtruck her colors, but no boat could be ſent with ſafety to take poſſeſſion; the Soleil Royal, the flag-ſhip of the French commander, was next day burnt by her own crew, to prevent her falling into the hands of the Engliſh; and two other ſhips of the line were alſo ſtranded and deſtroyed. The reſt of the fleet, with much difficulty, ſheltered themſelves in the river Vilaine, where they were long blockaded, but at length found means to eſcape to Rochefort. This was a fatal blow to the French marine; and, after this defeat, the French court attempted no further naval expedition of moment. Very important advantages alſo were obtained in the latter years of the war by the Britiſh arms on the coaſt of India, of which it will now be neceſſary to offer a conciſe but diſtinct narration.

HINDOSTAN, that vaſt country, extending two thouſand miles in length from the mountains of Tartary and Thibet on the north, to Cape Comorin, divided only by

a narrow ſtrait from the beautiful iſland of Ceylon, on the ſouth, preſents, among the various regions of the earth, a moſt conſpicuous and intereſting object of political and philoſophical contemplation. The civilization of this immenſe peninſula may be traced back to an æra of the moſt remote antiquity. Learning and the arts, which have deſcended to the modern nations of Europe from the Romans and the Greeks, were indubitably tranſmitted or transferred to them from the Phœnicians and Egyptians; who, as there is great reaſon to believe, derived the radical principles of the knowledge which they poſſeſſed from the ſages of Hindoſtan, with whom ſcience and the arts ſeem to have originated. And it is very remarkable, that ſuch as the inhabitants of Hindoſtan are deſcribed to have been two thouſand years ago, ſuch they ſtill remain; and the eſtabliſhed laws, inſtitutions, cuſtoms, manners, and religion of India, have, in this long ſucceſſion of ages, ſuffered neither any eſſential addition or diminution. Nothing, indeed, can be imagined more ſtrongly calculated to perpetuate the ſyſtem originally formed than the ſingular and remarkable diviſion of this people into tribes, profeſſions, or CASTES, ſeparated by a ſuperſtition ſo rigorous, as to render it unlawful and profane even to eat or drink out of the ſame veſſel, excepting on their ſolemn feſtivals in the ſame temple or pagoda, when joining in the ſame religious ſacrifice. All the different tribes, the military *caſte* only excepted, are required, under certain exemptions or indulgencies, to abſtain from animal food; and the high and venerable *caſte* of the Brahmans in particular, from whom more rigid examples of virtue are expected, touch nothing that has life, but ſubſiſt entirely upon milk, fruit, and vege-

vegetables *. The principles of their philoſophy, as well as the myſteries of their religion, are contained in certain records of the moſt obſcure and recondite antiquity, ſtyled the *Veds* or *Vedams*, ſuppoſed to be of divinely-inſpired origin, and written in the Sanſcrit language, which has long ceaſed to be a living tongue, and is now underſtood only by the learned Brahmans, whoſe peculiar province and privilege it is to read and meditate theſe ſacred volumes. The Khatries, who rank next in dignity, are permitted to hear them read; but the inferior

* The principal *caſtes* of India are, the Brahmans, or men of ſcience, including the prieſthood; the Khatries, or the military, and proprietors of land; the Bhyſe or Banian, comprehending the merchants and cultivators of the ſoil; and the Sooderahs, or mechanics and laborers, including the bulk of the people. But theſe are ſubdivided into many others, all of which are kept religiouſly diſtinct. In the myſtic language of the Vedams, the Brahmans are ſaid to be created from the mouth of Brimha, the Khatries from his arms, the Bhyſe from his body, and the Sooderahs from his feet. The Hallachores, ſtyled, in the Sanſcrit, Chandalas, are the refuſe and *outcaſts* of all the different tribes; but the number of them is happily inconſiderable, as they are held in a kind of religious abhorrence; their very touch, or the ſlighteſt accidental intercourſe with them, being accounted, even by the loweſt Sooderah, an almoſt indelible pollution. Alſo, ſcattered throughout the immenſe regions of Hindoſtan, are to be found multitudes of wandering devotees, or aſcetics, known under the various appellations of Yoghees, Sonaſſees, Faquiers, &c. &c. Deeply impreſſed with the doctrine taught by the Brahman philoſophy, that man's ſupreme felicity conſiſts in a kind of intellectual apathy or abſorption, theſe enthuſiaſts, with deplorable folly, inflict upon themſelves the moſt rigorous and almoſt incredible corporeal penances, vainly hoping, by this means, to aſſimilate and exalt their minds more nearly to the perfection of the divine nature, and to detach themſelves more effectually from that ſyſtem of matter which they are taught to contemn as baſe and vile. And ſuch is the veneration in which this ſpecies of voluntary martyrdom is held, that the profane and abject Chandala is not admitted to the enviable privilege of devoting himſelf to this ſacred profeſſion.

tribes

tribes are reſtrained to the knowledge of the *Shaſtahs*, which are commentaries of high and eſtabliſhed authority upon the Vedams, adapted to popular uſe. The grand and fundamental article of their religious creed is, that there is one ſupreme GOD, whoſe eſſence is infinitely removed from human comprehenſion, eternal, omnipotent, inviſible, who ordains and accepts the various religious rites of various nations, and that he is beſt pleaſed and propitiated by charity and good works. They teach that this GOD is to be worſhipped by SYMBOLS, repreſenting his various attributes—a moſt pernicious and fatal error, with admirable wiſdom guarded againſt in the Jewiſh decalogue—which, from a ſyſtem of pure and refined theiſm, has converted, by a natural and irreſiſtible gradation, the popular religion of the Hindoos into groſs idolatry *. The philoſophers of Hindoſtan admit, without

* When BRAHM determined to create the univerſe, the Vedams teach that he firſt commanded into exiſtence the GODS Viſhnoo, Brimha, and Shivah, to whom he delegated the taſk of forming, preſerving, and governing all things which it contains. This mythological account, however, is underſtood to be entirely allegorical; and this TRIAD or TRINITY of divine emanations, expreſſed in the Sanſcrit language by the myſtic word OUM, are unqueſtionably nothing more than ſymbols of the different energies of the divine nature, or of the power, wiſdom, and goodneſs, of the Supreme Being. This is the *Trinity* with which the mind of PLATO was ſo deeply impreſſed and enraptured, and which, in conſequence of the wide diffuſion of the Platonic ſyſtem of philoſophy, blended itſelf ſo intimately with the learned theories of the early heathen converts to chriſtianity. Such was the ſcientific ardor of this celebrated Grecian, and ſuch his admiration of the Indian philoſophy, that, we are told, "he once entertained a purpoſe—emulous, perhaps, of the fame of Pythagoras—of viſiting Hindoſtan in perſon: "Ad Indos," ſays Apuleius, "et Magos intendiſſet animum, niſi eum bella tunc vetuiſſent Aſiatica." In the famous dialogues, preſerved in the Sanſcrit language, between Viſhnoo and Arjoon, Viſhnoo ſays, "All things proceed from me, and there is not any thing, animate or inanimate"

without hesitation, the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, which they conceive to be an emanation from the divine essence; and capable of an accidental and temporary conjunction with, and transmigration to, any organical system of matter; and into the same infinite essence from which it originally sprang, after completing its destined series of transmigrations, it will be ultimately absorbed. The general characteristics of this people are mildness, simplicity, and indolence. They delight to repose under the romantic shade of their vast forests; or to refresh

inanimate, without me. In me all things are reposited. I am in the incense, in the fire, and in the victim. He who believeth in UNITY, and worshippeth me present in all things, dwelleth in me. They who, delighting in the welfare of all nature, serve me in my incorruptible, ineffable, and invisible form, omnipotent, incomprehensible, exalted, fixed, and immoveable, with subdued passions, and who are the same in all things, shall come unto me." Arjoon says, in reply, "Reverence be unto thee, again and again reverence, O thou who art all in all! Great is thy power, and great thy glory. By thee the universe was spread abroad. Thou art Vayoo the God of the winds, Agnee the God of fire, Varoon the God of the ocean, &c. Worthy to be adored, bear with me as a friend with a friend, a lover with the beloved."—Vishnoo answers—"He is dear to me who is free from enmity, merciful, and exempt from pride and selfishness, who is the same in pain and in pleasure, patient of wrongs, contented, and whose mind is fixed on me alone. He is my beloved, of whom mankind is not afraid, and who is not afraid of mankind, who is unsolicitous about events, to whom praise and blame are as one, who has no particular home, and is of a steady mind. The man who, performing the duties of life and quitting all interest in them, placeth his affections upon BRAHM the supreme, is not tainted with sin, but remaineth, like the leaf of the lotos, unaffected by the waters." KRISHEN, or Krishna, is the God Vishnoo in one of his various incarnations; in which capacity he is represented as a blooming and beautiful youth, with the characteristic appendage of a flute or lyre, resembling the Apollo of the Greeks; and, amongst many other striking analogies between the Indian and Grecian mythologies, described as encircled by the same number of graceful nymphs endowed with

freſh and purify themſelves with frequent bathings and ablutions in their majeſtic and ſalubrious ſtreams; eſpecially coveting to immerge in the ſacred waters of the Ganges, for which celebrated river they univerſally entertain a ſuperſtitious and enthuſiaſtic reverence. The famous expedition of Alexander into India was rather a diſcovery than a conqueſt. But the more recent invaſion of Tamerlane was attended with ſerious and laſting conſequences. That illuſtrious oriental victor, after ſubduing the more conſiderable northern provinces of the

with the ſame divine accompliſhments, ſtyled the GOPIA, who are ſaid to have fixed their reſidence in the delightful groves of Matra. In a hymn addreſſed to Kama-diva, or the God of love, in the Hindoo ſyſtem, ſon of Maya, the power of attraction, we read, in the elegant tranſlation of Sir William Jones—

> Can men reſiſt thy power when Kriſhen yields?
> Kriſhen, who ſtill in Matra's holy fields
> Tunes harps immortal, and to ſtrains divine
> Dances by moonlight with *the Gopia nine*.

In the temples of Viſhnoo this God is worſhipped under the ſymbol of an human figure, having a circle of heads and a multiplicity of hands, to denote the univerſality of his knowledge, preſence, and power. The moſt celebrated of theſe temples or pagodas is ſituated on the banks of the Coleroon, near the weſtern extremity of the iſland of Seringham. It conſiſts of ſeven ſquare incloſures, ſtanding at three hundred and fifty feet aſunder. In the inmoſt incloſure are the altars and the image of the Deity. The grand entrance is richly ornamented with pillars of granite of prodigious ſize. When the wars in the Carnatic between the French and Engliſh commenced, theſe rude invaders ſcrupled not to profane, by the entrance of their troops, the firſt courts of this hallowed edifice. And we are told that, on their approach, a Brahman, ſtanding on the ſummit of the lofty portico of the temple, cried to them with a loud voice to deſiſt from this impiety; but finding his menaces and ſupplications equally diſregarded, he threw himſelf down with violence upon the pavement below, and was inſtantly daſhed

the Peninſula, fixed his imperial throne at Dehli, where the great Moguls his deſcendants, now reduced to the mere phantoms and ſhadows of royalty, ſtill continue to reſide. For ſeveral ages, however, they retained great power and authority, and the empire of Hindoſtan was divided into extenſive kingdoms or provinces, which were governed by viceroys, ſtyled Subahs, and ſubordi-

daſhed to pieces. It is a ſingularity of the Hindoo ſyſtem, that it refuſes to admit proſelytes; for the Hindoo philoſophers maintain that the different modes of faith and worſhip eſtabliſhed in different countries, when practiſed with a pure mind, are equally acceptable to the SUPREME, to whom they give the appellations of "the Principle of Truth," the "Spirit of Wiſdom," the "Univerſal Soul," whoſe eſſence pervades all things, who fills all ſpace, and who cannot therefore be juſtly pourtrayed under any viſible and diſtinct form. A celebrated Daniſh miſſionary, M. Ziegenbalg, tells us "that the Brahmans uniformly affirmed to him that GOD was a Being wholly ſpiritual and incomprehenſible; but that the adoration before idols being ordained by their religion, GOD would receive and conſider it as adoration offered to himſelf—in the multitude of images they profeſſed to adore One Divine Eſſence." M. Bernier, a French traveller in the laſt century, who paſſed ſome time at the city of Benares, the ſacred ſeat of Indian ſcience, affirms, that he was told, in a conference which he held with the chief of the Pundits, "that though they had, in their temples, numerous images or idols to fix the attention of the worſhipper—"*afin qu'il y ait quelque choſe devant les yeux qui arrête l'eſprit;*" yet the honors paid to them were entirely to be referred to the Being whoſe attributes they repreſented." And St. Francis Xavier, the great apoſtle of India, at a ſtill earlier period, informs us, that a Brahman on the coaſt of Malabar revealed to him in confidence, "that one of the myſteries of the Hindoo doctrine conſiſted in believing that there was only one God, creator of the heavens, and of the earth; and that this God alone was worthy to be adored." The learned Brahmans, employed by Mr. Haſtings—in his laudable attention, amidſt the complicated cares of government, to ſcientific reſearches—for the purpoſe of tranſlating from the Sanſcrit to the Perſian language, the authentic records of their laws and cuſtoms, ſay, in the preliminary diſcourſe affixed to their work, "From men of enlightened underſtanding, and

found

ſubordinate governors, under the appellation of Nabobs and Rajahs, tributary to, and removable at, the pleaſure of, the emperor.

At ſo recent a period as the commencement of the preſent century, Aurengzebe ſwayed the ſceptre of the Moguls with unabated majeſty and ſplendor. But the power of this houſe received a tremendous ſhock from the invaſion of the Perſians, under the famous Shah Nadir, or Kouli Khan: and the governors of the provinces, ſeizing with eagerneſs the favorable moment, threw

ſound judgment, who in their reſearches after truth, have ſwept away from their hearts malice and oppoſition, it is not concealed that the diverſities of belief which are cauſes of enmity and envy to the ignorant, are in fact a demonſtration of the power of the Supreme Being. The truly intelligent well know, that the difference and variety of created things, and the contrarieties of conſtitutions, are types of his wonderful attributes, whoſe complete power formed all things in the animal, vegetable, and material world; whoſe benevolence ſelected man to have dominion and authority over the reſt, who having beſtowed on him judgment and underſtanding, gave him ſupremacy over the regions of the world, who having put into his hands the control and diſpoſal of all things, appointed to each nation its own religion, and who conſtituted a variety of tribes, and multiplicity of cuſtoms; but views, with pleaſure, in every place, the mode of worſhip particularly appointed to it. He is with the attendants upon the moſque, in counting the ſacred beads; and he is at the temple with the Hindoos, at the adoration of the idols" The grand dogmas of Indian theology are exhibited with the blended energies of philoſophy and poetry, in an ancient hymn, or divine ode, addreſſed to NARAYANA, or the *Divine Intellect*, as it appears in the animated tranſlation of Sir William Jones, from which theſe ſtanzas are tranſcribed.

SPIRIT of ſpirits, who thro' every part
Of ſpace expanded, and of endleſs time
Beyond the ſtretch of laboring thought ſublime,
Bad'ſt uproar into beauteous order ſtart;
Before heav'n was, THOU art!

Ere

threw off their dependency upon the emperor, and almoſt univerſally eſtabliſhed their authority as ſovereign princes of the empire, of which the Mogul is at preſent regarded only as the nominal head. Tamerlane, the founder of the Mogul empire, and the Mogul and other Tartar tribes, who acquired, in virtue of his conqueſts, permanent eſtabliſhments in India, being zealous pro-

Ere ſpheres beneath us roll'd, or ſpheres above,
Ere earth in firmamental ether hung,
Thou ſat'ſt alone; till thro' thy myſtic love
Things unexiſting to exiſtence ſprung.——

* * *

——Wrapt in eternal ſolitary ſhade,
Th' impenetrable gloom of light intenſe,
Impervious, inacceſſible, immenſe,
Ere ſpirits were infus'd, or forms diſplay'd,
BRAHM his own mind ſurvey'd.———

* * *

———Mountains whoſe radiant ſpires
Preſumptuous rear their ſummits to the ſkies,
And blend their emerald hue with ſapphire light,
Smooth meads and lawns, that glow with varying dyes
Of dew-beſpangled leaves, and bloſſoms bright,
Hence! vaniſh from my ſight.

* * *

Deluſive pictures! unſubſtantial ſhows!
My ſoul abſorb'd, ONE only Being knows
Of all perceptions, one abundant ſource,
Whence every object, every moment flows;
Suns hence derive their force,
Hence planets learn their courſe;
But ſuns and fading worlds I view no more,
GOD only I perceive, GOD only I adore.

feſſors

feſſors of the religion of Mahomed, the viceroys of the provinces, the viziers, and other great officers of ſtate, were from that period invariably ſelected from the number of the faithful; but few or no innovations were attempted in the internal government or conſtitution of the empire. And the wiſdom of Tamerlane, which is no leſs the ſubject of oriental panegyric than his valor, appears in no reſpect more conſpicuous than in his cautious avoidance of thoſe meaſures of political violence, which would probably have converted his newly-acquired dominions into one vaſt ſcene of deſolation and anarchy *.

In conſequence of the important diſcovery made by the celebrated Portugueſe navigator, Vaſco de Gama, of

* The Subahs and Nabobs are univerſally Mahommedans—the Rajahs, Mirzahs, Omrahs, and other ſubordinate governors or princes, are chiefly Hindoos. In a remarkable petition or remonſtrance, preſented by the Rajah Juſſwont Sing to the celebrated Aurengzebe, in conſequence of an oppreſſive capitation recently and arbitrarily impoſed throughout all the provinces and kingdoms of Hindoſtan, by that imperious and warlike emperor, we find the following paſſages, which exhibit a ſtriking picture of the ancient and accuſtomed tenor of the Mogul adminiſtration in India.—"May it pleaſe your majeſty, your royal anceſtor, Mahomed-Jelaul ul-Deen-Akbar, whoſe throne is now in heaven, conducted the affairs of this empire in equity and firm ſecurity, for the ſpace of fifty-two years, preſerving every tribe of men in eaſe and happineſs; whether they were followers of Jeſus, or of Moſes, or of Mahommed. Were they Brahmans, were they of the ſect of the Dharians, which denies the eternity of matter, or of that which aſcribes the exiſtence of the world to chance, they all equally enjoyed his countenance and favor—inſomuch that he was diſtinguiſhed by his people, in gratitude, by the appellation of "Guardian of mankind." His majeſty, Mahomed Noor-ul-Deen-Jehangheer, whoſe dwelling is now in Paradiſe, extended, for a period of twenty-two years, the ſhadow of his protection over the heads of his people. Nor leſs did the illuſtrious Shah Jehân, by a propitious reign of

of a paſſage in India by the Cape of Good Hope, the attention of the European nations was powerfully attracted by the immenſe riches of Hindoſtan, now placed as it were within the general reach, particularly that of the Portugueſe themſelves, who eſtabliſhed, by extraordinary exertions of valor, a commercial and political empire in India, of which the city of Goa was the emporium and metropolis. When Portugal was annexed by the arms of Philip II. to the crown of Spain, Holland ſucceſsfully contended with that power for preeminence in India. And England and France were at length induced, from an increaſing attention to their commercial intereſts, and without any ambition of do-

of thirty-two years, acquire to himſelf immortal reputation, the glorious reward of clemency and virtue. Such were the benevolent inclinations of your anceſtors: whereſoever they directed their ſteps, conqueſt and proſperity went before them. How can the dignity of the ſovereign be preſerved, who employs his power in exacting heavy tributes from his people? At this juncture, it is told from eaſt to weſt, that the emperor of Hindoſtan, regardleſs of the illuſtrious honor of his Timurean deſcent, will exerciſe his power over Brahmans, Sonorahs, Sonaſſees—that he will condeſcend to oppreſs the poor Indian devotee, the ſolitary inoffenſive anchoret. If your majeſty places any faith in thoſe books, by diſtinction called divine, you will there be inſtructed that God is the God of all mankind, and not the God of Mahommedans alone. This Pagan and Muſſulman are equal in his preſence.—In the moſque his name is invoked—in the pagoda he is the object of adoration. To vilify the religion of other men is to ſet at nought the pleaſure of the Almighty. In fine, the tribute you demand from the Hindoos is repugnant to juſtice—it is equally foreign to good policy; and moreover it is an innovation, and an infringement of the laws of Hindoſtan. It is wonderful, that the miniſters of your government ſhould have neglected to inſtruct your majeſty in the rules of rectitude and honor." If any credit be due to the doctrine of the metempſychoſis, ſurely the ſoul of this illuſtrious Rajah muſt have tranſmigrated into the body of a Monteſquieu, a Locke, or a Turgot!

minion,

minion, to form ſettlements both on the eaſtern and weſtern coaſts of the peninſula. During the violent and frequent conteſts between theſe rival nations, deſtined to carry their rivalſhip into every part of the globe, no tranſactions of ſufficient moment to demand a place in general hiſtory are to be found relative to India for a long ſucceſſion of years.

At the period of the *acceſſion* of the houſe of Brunſwick, England was, on the weſtern or Malabar coaſt, in poſſeſſion of the iſland of Bombay and the factory of Surat: on the oppoſite, or Coromandel coaſt, of Fort St. David, and, farther to the northward, of Fort St. George, uſually ſtyled Madras, from its contiguity to that city, which, with ſeveral villages in the vicinity, was purchaſed in the laſt century, by the Eaſt India company, of the king of Golconda: ſtill farther to the north, at the mouth of the Ganges, was Fort William, cloſely adjoining the town of Calcutta, a vaſt and populous commercial mart, ſituated in the kingdom of Bengal.

The commerce of the French chiefly centred in the city of Pondicherry, a large and beautiful town on the Coromandel coaſt, between the forts St. David and St. George. Chandernagore, on the Ganges, ranked next in importance to Pondicherry, and they had alſo eſtabliſhed factories at Rajapore, Calicut, and Surat, on the weſtern ſide of the Continent. During the courſe of the war which commenced in the year 1740, Fort St. George, or Madras, the reſidence of the governor-general, and the ſeat of the civil adminiſtration, extending over all the Engliſh ſettlements in India, was conquered by the French; but reſtored in exchange for Cape Breton, at the enſuing pacification of Aix-la-Chapelle.

Some years previous to that period, M. Dupleix had been appointed to the governor-generalſhip of the French

French ſettlements in India—a man of ſingular ability and daring ambition, who ſeized with avidity every opportunity to extend and eſtabliſh the empire of France in Hindoſtan. Nizam-al-Muluc, the Subah or Viceroy of the Decan, in the year 1745, had conſtituted, in virtue of his office, Anaverdi-Khan, Nabob of the province of Arcot, a dependency upon his government. The Subah not long ſurviving this appointment, was ſucceeded by his ſon, Nazir-Zing, whoſe claim to the ſucceſſion was ſtrongly oppoſed by his own kinſman Muzapher-Zing—for by theſe uncouth names, to our ears of barbarous ſound, muſt the page of hiſtory, in recording the tranſactions of the European nations in India, be darkened and diſfigured. Muzapher-Zing had recourſe to the aſſiſtance of M. Dupleix, who readily granted him powerful ſuccors, in conſideration and proſpect of great future advantages. Thus reinforced, and joined by Chunda-Saib, a man of high rank and influence in the Subahdary, he took the field againſt Nazir-Zing, who was ſtrongly ſupported by the Engliſh, from motives ſimilar to thoſe which actuated M. Dupleix. In a ſhort time Muzapher-Zing was reduced to abſolute ſubmiſſion, and Nazir-Zing, in clemency, ſpared his life; but detained him as a ſtate priſoner. In this ſituation Muzapher-Zing found means to carry on dark and dangerous intrigues with Dupleix and Chunda-Saib, who had taken refuge in Pondicherry, and even with the miniſters of Nazir-Zing; and a deep and traitorous conſpiracy was formed, in conſequence of which Nazir-Zing was murdered in his camp, and Muzapher-Zing proclaimed Subah of the Decan. Chunda-Saib was, in conſequence of this revolution, appointed Nabob of Arcot, Anaverdi-Khan, the late Nabob, having been previouſly defeated and ſlain, and his ſon Mahomed-Ali-Khan reduced to the neceſſity of putting himſelf

himſelf under the protection of the Engliſh government at Madras. Muzapher-Zing did not long enjoy the fruits of his crimes; for, by a conſpiracy ſimilar to that by which he had himſelf riſen to the throne, he was ſuddenly hurled from it: and the chiefs of the conſpiracy, after putting this faithleſs uſurper to death, proclaimed Sallabat-Zing, brother to Nazir-Zing, Subah of the DECAN.

On the other hand, the MOGUL, by an Imperial *phirmaund*, appointed Gawzedi Khan, the elder brother of Sallabat-Zing, to the viceroyalty; at the ſame time declaring Chunda-Saib a traitor, and confirming Mahomed-Ali-Khan in the government of Arcot. But the mandate of the emperor would have been of little avail without the ſupport and aſſiſtance of the Engliſh company, who determined upon ſending a conſiderable military force, at the head of which was placed captain Clive, in the ſequel ſo famous under the title of lord Clive, into the province of Arcot, who, conducting all his operations with a vigor and diſpatch which at once eſtabliſhed his reputation as a military commander, took poſſeſſion of the city of Arcot in the ſummer of 1751. Chunda-Saib having aſſembled a conſiderable army, with the aid of M. Dupleix, inveſted the city of Arcot, but was compelled to raiſe the ſiege with great precipitation; and was afterwards, in repeated engagements, defeated and foiled by the Engliſh commander. In the ſpring of 1752, major-general Lawrence, commander in chief of the company's troops, took the field in perſon, and attacking the grand army of the enemy, headed by the Nabob Chunda-Saib, he gained a complete victory. Chunda-Saib, being taken priſoner, had his head ſtruck off by order of the Rajah of Tanjore, a neighboring prince of India, in alliance with the company. M. Dupleix now proclaimed Rajah Saib, ſon

of

of Chunda-Saïb, Nabob of Arcot. And Salabat-Zing, in return for the powerful ſupport he had received from the French in the Decan, and having deviſed means to rid himſelf of his competitor Gawzedi Khan by poiſon, made a grant to M. Dupleix of all the Engliſh poſſeſſions to the northward of Pondicherry. But the French governor being recalled before this grant could be carried into effect, and the Sieur Godeheu, the new governor, profeſſing the moſt pacific intentions, a proviſional treaty was quickly agreed upon on the footing of *uti poſſidetis*, till freſh inſtructions ſhould arrive from their reſpective courts or principals in Europe. This interval of quiet, however, was of ſhort duration; for no ſooner was the inimical diſpoſition of the two courts aſcertained, than hoſtilities recommenced in the Carnatic, and were carried on with various ſucceſs, but, upon the whole, with conſiderable advantage by general Lawrence on the part of the Engliſh, when the attention of that commander was, by a ſeries of extraordinary and intereſting events, diverted to another part of the Continent, the peace of which had hitherto remained undiſturbed by European ambition. Ali-Verdi-Khan, Subah of Bengal, with the contiguous provinces of Bahar and Oriſſa, a prince who had forced his way to the throne by great crimes, and had maintained poſſeſſion of it by great talents, dying in April 1756, was ſucceeded by his adopted ſon Sou-Rajah-Dowla, the grandſon of his brother Hadjee Hamet, a young man immerſed in debauchery, weak in his underſtanding, violent in his paſſions, and profligate in his morals. Ali-Verdi-Khan, notwithſtanding his early and continued partiality for this unhappy youth, with reaſon dreaded the conſequences of his elevation to the *Muſnud*. In his laſt illneſs, he obliged Sou-Rajah-Dowla to ſwear upon the Koran never more to touch any intoxicating liquor, a

vow which he obſerved with ſurpriſing and undeviating fidelity. The Subah, feeling the near and rapid approach of death, addreſſed his adopted ſon and heir in the following words: "My life has been a life of war and ſtratagem. For what have I fought, to what have my counſels tended but to ſecure, my ſon, to you a quiet ſucceſſion to my Subahdary! My fears for you have rendered my nights ſleepleſs. I conſider who had power to give you trouble after I am gone hence. Huſſein-Cooley-Khan, by his reputation, wiſdom, courage, and affection to Shah Amet-Jung and his houſe, I feared would obſtruct your government; but his power is no more. Monichund Dewan, who might have been your dangerous enemy, I have taken into favor. But, my ſon, keep in view the power of the European nations in this country. This I would have freed you from, if God had lengthened my days. The work muſt now be yours. Their wars and perfidious politics ſhould keep you waking. The power of the Engliſh is great; reduce them firſt; the others will then give you little trouble. Suffer them not, my ſon, to have forts or ſoldiers; if you do, the country is not yours." Strongly impreſſed with theſe ideas, the new Subah viewed with the higheſt alarm and apprehenſion the additional fortifications carrying on at Fort William, in conſequence of the war now declared againſt France, and from the proſecution of which he repeatedly required the governor to deſiſt. But his orders being neglected or evaded, he appeared ſuddenly before Calcutta, in the month of June, with a large body of troops, and ſummoned the fort and city to ſurrender. Mr. Holwell, who acted as governor, made a reſolute defence, but was at length compelled to ſubmit to ſuperior force. The Subah, notwithſtanding his aſſurances of protection from perſonal injury, inſtantly ordered the Engliſh garriſon, amount-

amounting to one humdred and forty-ſix perſons, into confinement. And there being, at a ſmall diſtance, a ſtrong ſtone priſon, forming within the walls a cube of about eighteen feet, open only to the weſtward by two windows, ſtrongly barred with iron, they were conveyed for immediate ſecurity to this dungeon. Mr. Holwell, on entering the place, immediately conceived all the horrors which muſt enſue, if they failed in obtaining a ſpeedy releaſe; and accoſting the Jemmautdaur or officer of the Indian guard, promiſed to gratify him with a thouſand rupees if he would remove one half of them to a ſeparate apartment. The Jemmautdaur, allured by the proſpect of this reward, aſſured him he would uſe his utmoſt endeavor to procure for them this indulgence, and retired for that purpoſe; but returning in a ſhort time, he told the governor that the Subah, by whoſe order alone ſuch a ſtep could be taken, was aſleep, and no perſon durſt diſturb his repoſe. Mr. Holwell, in his pathetic narration of this unexampled ſcene of diſtreſs, compares their ſituation, in this dark and ſultry cell, to that of ſo many miſerable animals in an exhauſted receiver—no circulation of freſh air ſufficient to continue life, and not enough diveſted of its vivifying particles to put a ſpeedy period to it. A moſt profuſe perſpiration, accompanied with a raging thirſt, ſoon took place, which, becoming each moment more inſupportable, gradually changed into phrenſy and delirium. The priſon now reſounded with the ravings of deſpair, and, nature being at length reduced to extremity, with the groans and broken accents of the dying. In the morning twenty-three only were found alive, and in theſe ſcarcely were there any perceptible remains of ſenſation or ſenſibility. Their ſufferings, however, appeared to make little impreſſion upon the ferocious and obdurate heart of the Subah, who viſibly exulted in the

ſucceſs of his enterpriſe—not having the leaſt conception that the Engliſh would return in force to Calcutta; and contemptuouſly declaring, that he did not believe there were ten thouſand fighting men in all *Frenghiſtan* *. The wretched remains of the factory were now embarked on board a few trading veſſels lying at the mouth of the Ganges; and theſe the Subah did not offer to moleſt. He even expreſſed his wiſhes that the Engliſh merchants would return to Calcutta, if they could be ſatisfied to live under his government, without laws or fortifications of their own, and carry on their traffic like the Armenians and his own native ſubjects. And happy for mankind aſſuredly would it have been, had Europe never extended her views farther than this in India. No ſooner, however, was the intelligence of this calamity conveyed to Madras, than vigorous preparations were made by the Engliſh government to revenge the injury, and obliterate the diſgrace. A formidable armament under the command of admiral Watſon and colonel Clive, to the great aſtoniſhment of the Subah, anchored in the Ganges in December; and immediately commencing their operations, Calcutta was inveſted and reduced in the month of January (1757), and alſo the city of Hughley on the Ganges, where the principal magazines of the Subah were depoſited. Soon after which, the Subah himſelf, who had aſſembled a vaſt army in order to repel the invaders, was attacked by colonel Clive, and obliged to retreat in confuſion, and with conſiderable loſs. Intimidated by the ſucceſſes of the Engliſh, he conſented to ſign articles of peace, February 9, 1757, by which it was ſtipulated that the fac-

* *i. e.* The country of Franks—the appellation univerſally given to the Europeans throughout the Eaſt.

tories

tories and poſſeſſions belonging to the Engliſh company ſhould be reſtored, and full compenſation made for their loſſes; and, in general, that whatever rights and privileges had been at any time granted to the company by virtue of the *phirmaunds* of the emperor ſhould be confirmed and ratified. After the concluſion of this treaty, the Engliſh commanders proceeded to the attack of the French fortreſs and factory of Chandernagore; the reduction of which filled the Nabob with new apprehenſions and alarms. And he remonſtrated in ſtrong terms to admiral Watſon againſt theſe acts of violence: "It is, ſaid the Subah, contrary to all rule and cuſtom that you ſhould bring your animoſities and differences into my country; it has never been known ſince the days of Timur that the Europeans made war upon one another within the emperor's dominions. If you are determined to beſiege the French factories I ſhall be neceſſitated in honor and duty to my ſovereign, to aſſiſt them with my troops." But admiral Watſon, regardleſs of his remonſtrances, and jealous of his deſigns, declared to him, "that, if he protected the king's enemies, he would light up a flame in his country that all the waters of the Ganges would not be able to extinguiſh." Such, indeed, was the capricious and tyrannic conduct of Sou-Rajah-Dowla, that thoſe who were originally moſt attached to his intereſts began to be weary of his government. Amongſt other men of high rank in the Subahdary of whom he entertained juſt ſuſpicion, was Meer-Jaffier-Ali-Khan, nearly allied to the Subah by his marriage with the ſiſter of Ali-Verdi-Khan. In the vehemence of his paſſion he had been heard to declare that he would have the head of Meer-Jaffier: and Meer-Jaffier, ſenſible of the imminent dangers of his ſituation, made ſecret propoſals to the Engliſh reſident at the court of Moorſhedabad the capital

tal of Bengal, which were eagerly embraced by the Engliſh council and commandants at Calcutta, for the depoſition of Sou-Rajah-Dowla, and the advancement of Meer-Jaffier to the *Muſnud*. The jealouſies of the Subah continuing to increaſe, Meer-Jaffier retired from court to his reſidence in the country, from whence he tranſmitted diſpatches to colonel Clive, urging him to begin his march to Moorſhedabad. The colonel ſeeing that the die was caſt, and that they had already gone much too far unleſs they proceeded ſtill farther, immediately put the whole army in motion, and with a juſt, though daring reliance on his own talents, and the valor of his troops, croſſing the Ganges, he advanced to Plaſſey, within one day's march of the capital, where he found the Subah encamped with a force of ſeventy thouſand men, in all the "*pomp, pride, and circumſtance*" of oriental magnificence. The number of elephants with their ſcarlet houſings, the rich variegated embroidery of their tents and ſtandards, and the martial ſplendor of the cavalry parading over the field with their drawn ſwords glittering in the ſun, made a grand and ſtriking appearance. The Subah, feeble of mind and infirm of purpoſe, on the firſt intelligence of the march of the Engliſh army, had eagerly courted the ſupport and aſſiſtance of Meer-Jaffier, whom he had, beyond all poſſibility of forgiveneſs, previouſly offended. A full and free pardon was granted to Meer-Jaffier, who, being introduced into the preſence of the Subah, took a ſolemn oath upon the Koran that he would be his faithful ſoldier; and in return, the Subah ſwore that he would never attempt the life of Meer-Jaffier. Though the army of the Subah was advantageouſly poſted upon an eminence, colonel Clive advanced at the head of his troops, conſiſting of little more than three thouſand men, with great intrepidity to the attack. Such, on the other hand, was the diſtruſt and ſecret deſpondency

ſpondency prevailing throughout the Aſiatic army, that reſiſtance ſeemed to be ſcarcely attempted. With the trifling loſs of about ſeventy men, moſt deciſive victory was gained—the artillery, and ſtores of the enemy falling into the hands of the victors. Doubtful, perhaps, of the final event, and perplexed in the mazes of his own policy, Meer-Jaffier, who commanded the left wing of the Subah's army, took no part whatever in the action. But the Engliſh commander, far from diſcovering any impolitic ſymptoms of reſentment at his ambiguity of conduct, ſaluted him, with apparent complacency, Subah of the three provinces, and exhorted him to purſue his march to Moorſhedabad at the head of his troops—engaging, without delay, to follow and ſupport him with his whole force. Sou-Rajah-Dowla, who had fled with the foremoſt from the field of action, abandoned himſelf to deſpair; and on his arrival at Moorſhedabad, after ſome tumultuous conſultations and inconſiſtent reſolutions, he diſguiſed himſelf in the habit of a faquier, and left his palace in the dead of night, in order to ſeek for ſafety in obſcurity. Meer-Jaffier, all obſtacles to his advancement being now ſurmounted, was ſeated, with all the accuſtomed ceremonies of ſtate, upon the *Muſnud*; and acknowledged as Subah of Bengal by all the Rajahs and Omrahs of the kingdom: and the unhappy Sou-Rajah-Dowla, being diſcovered in his flight, was put to death, imploring in vain for mercy, after a reign of fifteen months, by the expreſs command of the ſon of the new Subah. In conformity to the treaty previouſly concluded with the Engliſh, this prince paid into the treaſury of the company a crore of rupees *, as an indemnification

* A crore is an hundred lacks of rupees, conſiderably exceeding one million ſterling. Upon the whole, and on various pretences, not leſs than

nification for their loſſes at Calcutta, and ceded to them a conſiderable territory in the vicinity of that city. And thus was a revolution accompliſhed very marvellous in the eyes of the inhabitants of Bengal, who could not comprehend how the throne of Ali-Verdi-Khan could be ſubverted by an handful of foreign mercantile adventurers. The affairs of the company being thus triumphantly re-eſtabliſhed in the northern provinces of India, the watchful attention of the ſupreme council and of the military commandants was again turned to the coaſt of Coromandel, where the French had taken advantage of the temporary diminution of force on the part of the Engliſh, to make themſelves maſters of Ingeram, Vizagapatam, and other ſubordinate ſettlements in that quarter: and being now ſtrengthened with large reinforcements from Europe conducted by M. Lally, under convoy of a powerful ſquadron commanded by M. d'Aché, they threatened the entire conqueſt of all the Engliſh poſſeſſions on that coaſt. Fort St. David's was firſt inveſted, which ſurrendered after a very ſhort and feeble defence. The Rajah of Tanjore having diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a zealous and faithful ally of the Engliſh, M. Lally marched into his dominions; and on the Rajah's refuſal to advance the enormous ſum of ſeventy-two lacks of rupees, demanded by the French general, he inveſted the city of Tanjore, which was ſo reſolutely defended by the native troops of the Rajah, aſſiſted by ſome European engineers, that M. Lally was compelled to raiſe the ſiege with conſiderable loſs. He took poſſeſſion however, in

than one million eight hundred thouſand pound ſterling, excluſive of preſents to individuals to an immenſe amount, was exacted from the new Subah on this occaſion. A lack of rupees is eſtimated at about 11,500l.

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his retreat from Tanjore, of the city of Arcot, the reſidence of the Nabob Mahomed-Ali-Khan, without oppoſition; and, in the beginning of December 1758, he advanced with his whole force to Madras, to which he laid cloſe ſiege. But the place being ſtrongly fortified and plentifully provided, the garriſon made an obſtinate defence; and, on the arrival of a conſiderable reinforcement of troops and military ſtores, under the conduct of captain Kempenfelt, in February (1759), M. Lally abandoned the attempt, and retired with precipitation to Arcot, extremely chagrined at the ill ſucceſs of this enterpriſe. "I reckon (ſays he, in an intercepted confidential letter to his friend M. le Gret) that we ſhall, on our arrival at Pondicherry, endeavour to learn ſome other trade—this of war requires too much patience; were I judge of the point of honor of the company's officers, I would break ſome of them like glaſs." This commander was a man of impetuous courage, but capricious, paſſionate, proud, and opinionated. Vizagapatam and Maſulipatam were, about this time, recovered from the French by a detachment under Colonel Ford. And Salabat-Zing, Subah of the Decan, perceiving the fortune of the war now viſibly inclining to the Engliſh, made eager advances to the government of Madras; and a treaty was concluded with the Subah, by which he renounced his former alliance with France, and ceded the entire *Circar* of Maſulipatam to the company; and the Engliſh, on their part, engaged not to aſſiſt or protect the Subah's enemies. Colonel Cooote, who now commanded in chief the company's forces in the Carnatic, gained ſeveral advantages over M. Lally; and a general engagement taking place between the two armies near Wandewaſh, at the beginning of the year (1760), the French were defeated with the loſs of their camp and cannon. Colonel Coote immediately undertook the ſiege, and effected the reduction

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of Arcot. Several bloody but indecifive naval encounters intervened alfo, fince the commencement of the preceding year, between M. d'Aché and admiral Pococke, the fucceffor of admiral Watfon, who had died foon after the re-capture of Calcutta, univerfally lamented and eſteemed as a man of great profeſſional ſkill, of firm integrity, and of untarniſhed honor.

After the defeat of Wandewaſh, M. Lally retreated to Pondicherry, where he was purſued with unremitting diligence by colonel Coote, who, with the aſſiſtance of the Britiſh ſquadron, ſoon formed the complete blockade of that important city. As ſoon as the periodical rains abated, and the ſeaſon for active operations recommenced, the blockade was converted into a regular ſiege; and the place, though defended with great vigor by M. Lally, was reduced to extremity before the end of January (1761), not ſo much from the damage ſuſtained from the aſſaults of the beſiegers, as from the exceſſive ſcarcity of proviſions, which the temporary but critical abſence of M. d'Aché, now repairing and careening his ſhips at Mauritius, left M. Lally wholly deſtitute of the means to remedy. The Engliſh ſquadron, however, being driven from their ſtation by a violent tempeſt, he diſpatched a letter to the French reſident at Pulicat, fortunately intercepted by the Engliſh, urging him, in the ſtrongeſt terms, to exert himſelf in the procurement of ſupplies: Loſe not an inſtant, ſays he, in ſending chelingoes upon chelingoes laden with rice. We are no longer blockaded by ſea. The ſalvation of Pondicherry hath been once in your power already—Riſque all—attempt all—force all!" The Engliſh admiral, however, ſoon reſuming his ſtation, he loſt all hope, and demanded a capitulation, which colonel Coote would grant upon no other terms, than that of the garriſon ſurrendering priſoners of war; to which M. Lally at length indignantly aſſented. Thus the proud

and

and opulent capital of the French ſettlements in the Eaſt fell, by the fortune of war, into the hands of the enemy, nearly at the ſame time that the conqueſt of Canada was completed in the Weſt; and the genius of England triumphed over that of France, at this propitious period, on both ſides of the globe.

There yet remains to be inveſtigated, another grand and eſſential branch of the memorable conteſt now under contemplation; that is to ſay, the war in Germany, reſumed with freſh vigor after a ſhort interval, ſubſequent to the convention of Cloiſter-Seven. No ſooner was the alliance concluded between the courts of Vienna and Verſailles, than it was communicated to the court of Peterſburgh, and the empreſs of Ruſſia acceded to it without heſitation. Sweden alſo ſpeedily became a party in the confederacy; though extremely oppoſite to the views and inclinations of the monarch, who by the conſtitution of government, eſtabliſhed after the death of Charles XII. poſſeſſed little more than the ſhadow of regal authority: the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, was deterred from following the example of Sweden, only by his vicinity to Pruſſia, and the bitter recollection of his former loſſes and ſufferings.

Great military preparations, however, being made in all parts of the Auſtrian dominions, and the king of Pruſſia having received undoubted intelligence of negotiations which had been long ſecretly depending between the courts of Vienna, Peterſburg, and Dreſden, extremely to his prejudice, and of which the diſmemberment of his dominions was underſtood to be the ultimate object, ordered M. Klingraffe, his miniſter at the imperial court, to demand of the empreſs queen a poſitive and explicit declaration of her intentions. Count Kaunitz, by command of the empreſs, replied in general terms, "that her imperial majeſty had found it neceſſary, in the preſent juncture,

juncture, to arm for her own defence, and that of her allies; but that her armaments did not tend to the prejudice of any perſon or ſtate whatever."—On the tranſmiſſion of this anſwer, M. Klingraffe received freſh orders from the court of Berlin, to repreſent to the empreſs, "that his Pruſſian majeſty was well acquainted with the ſecret hoſtile projects of the imperial courts; that he conſtituted the empreſs arbiter of peace or war; that he would be ſatisfied with nothing leſs than an expreſs aſſurance of peace; and that he would regard an ambiguous anſwer as a declaration of war." The empreſs, in return, ſignified, in indignant terms, her aſtoniſhment at the memorial now preſented. She ſaid, that ſhe had, in common with all other ſovereigns, a right to take ſuch meaſures as ſhe deemed neceſſary for her ſafety, and that it belonged to none but herſelf to eſtimate her own danger; that no treaty of offenſive alliance did exiſt, or had ever exiſted, between her and the empreſs of the Ruſſias; and that the poſitive aſſurance required of her, in terms ſo unuſually peremptory, could not be more binding than the ſolemn treaty actually ſubſiſting, and which ſhe had no intention to violate"

The Pruſſian monarch, firmly perſuaded by evidence, tranſmitted through ſecret channels * of intelligence, of the

* Le Roi avoit un canal par lequel il tiroit des avis certains ſur les projets de ſes ennemis qui étoient près d'éclater. C'étoit un commis de la Chancellerie Secrête de Dreſde, qui remettoit toutes les ſemaines au Miniſtre Pruſſien les dépêches que ſa Cour recevoit de Peterſbourg et de Vienne, ainſi que la copie de tous les traités qu'il avoit trouvés dans les archives. Il parut par ſes écrits que la Cour de Ruſſie s'excuſoit de ne pouvoir entreprendre la guerre cette année, à cauſe que ſa flotte n'étoit pas en état d entrer en mer.——La réponſe du Comte Kaunitz ſe trouva conçue en termes équivoques et ambigus; mais il s'expliqua plus ouvertement avec le Comte de Flemming, Miniſtre du Roi de Pologne

the infincerity of the court of Vienna, and that Saxony waited only a favorable occafion openly to join the confederacy againft him, entered that electorate with a numerous army, and took poffeffion of the city of Dreſden on the 8th of September 1756, declaring, however, that he did not mean to violate the neutrality profeſſed by his Poliſh majeſty, and requiring only that monarch to ſeparate his army into cantonments, as a proof and pledge of his amity and good faith. The king of Poland, aſtoniſhed and exaſperated at this unexpected intruſion, ſeemed neither to know how to comply or to reſiſt. Relying, however, upon the ſtrength of the inacceſſible camp of Pirna, ſingularly and romantically ſituated, on the ſummit of a lofty range of rocks, extending along the banks of the Elbe, to which the Saxon army had retreated, he ventured to declare his reſolution to keep his troops aſſembled for the defence and protection of his perſon and dominions. This, with an antagoniſt ſuch as the king of Pruſſia, was equivalent to a declaration of war; and the Pruſſian general, finding it impoſſible to attack the Saxons, took immediate poſſeſſion, by order of the king, of all the paſſes leading to this impregnable poſt; and the whole Saxon army, reduced to extremity by famine, was on the 14th October, compelled to ſur-

Pologne à Vienne, lequel rendit compte de cet entretien dans une relation à ſa Cour: La copie de cette dépêche fut envoyée incontinent de Dreſde à Berlin; le Comte Flemming y dit, "Le Comte Kaunitz ſe propoſe d'inquiéter le Roi par ſes réponſes, et de le pouſſer à commettre les premieres hoſtilités." *Hiſt. de la Guerre de Sept Ans.*—Count Hertzberg, however, in his Hiſtoric Memoir of the Reign of Frederic the Great, preſumes to ſuggeſt a doubt whether that Monarch might not rely too confidently on this ſecret intelligence, and whether it was, or is, perfectly clear that the two Empreſſes had nearly formed a fixed and ſerious deſign for the ſubverſion of the Electoral Houſe of Brandenburg.

render

render priſoners of war. The king of Poland now retired for perſonal ſecurity to Warſaw, and the king of Pruſſia took poſſeſſion, as a conquered country, of the whole electorate. During the blockade of Pirna, that monarch had made an attempt to penetrate into Bohemia; but finding the Auſtrian army, under count Browne, ſtrongly poſted at Lowoſchutz, on the Egra, a bloody engagement enſued, which terminated with nearly equal loſs; but the advantage remained with the Auſtrians, as the king of Pruſſia was compelled to meaſure back his ſteps to Saxony, where he took up his winter-quarters.

The king of Pruſſia, on re-entering Dreſden, commanded the royal cabinet to be forced, in defiance of the perſonal oppoſition of the queen of Poland. In it was found depoſited an authentic copy of a *defenſive treaty* of alliance between the courts of Vienna, Peterſburg, and Dreſden, which had been ſome years concluded, and which contained ſix ſecret articles. The fourth of theſe articles, for the ſake of which the whole treaty ſeemed to be formed, imported that if the king of Pruſſia ſhould depart from the peace of Dreſden, which the contracting powers declare their intention religiouſly to obſerve, by attacking either of the contracting powers, or even the republic of Poland, the rights of the empreſs-queen to Sileſia, &c. ſhall again revive and be conſidered as in full force; and the eventual partition of the Pruſſian dominions ſhould take place as ſtipulated in the treaty.

In conſequence of theſe daring acts of violence, the king was, at the ſubſequent meeting of the Diet at Ratiſbon, in his quality of elector of Brandenburg, put under the *ban* of the empire, diveſted of his privileges and prerogatives, his fiefs eſcheated, and the circles ordered to furniſh their reſpective contingencies for carrying this ſentence into execution. Not in the leaſt intimidated

midated by this formidable denunciation, that monarch, early in the enſuing ſpring (1757), entered Bohemia, at the head of a vaſt army, aſſiſted by the Mareſchals Keith and Schwerin, and advancing towards Prague, found the Auſtrians, who were at leaſt equally numerous, entrenched on the banks of the Moldaw, commanded by prince Charles of Lorraine and count Browne, whom he attacked without heſitation or delay—forcing the entrenchments with reſiſtleſs intrepidity and complete ſucceſs, though with the loſs of the gallant Mareſchal Schwerin, who, after ſurviving the dangers of fifty campaigns, was ſlain, fighting at the head of his troops, covered with laurels, in the moment of victory. The ſhattered remains of the Auſtrian army took refuge in the city of Prague, where Mareſchal Browne ſoon after died of the wounds which he received in the battle, or rather of the chagrin occaſioned by the loſs of it. The Pruſſians immediately formed the inveſtment of that city, which, in conſequence of the vaſt number incloſed within the walls, was quickly reduced, by famine, to the laſt extremity of diſtreſs.

At this critical period, the famous Leopold count Daun, originally a ſubaltern officer ſerving in the ſchool of the great Khevenhuller, who with the penetrating eye of military ſagacity marked his extraordinary talents, and predicted his future eminence, was appointed to the chief command of the imperial armies. This general immediately prepared for the relief of Prague, by collecting troops from all quarters; and reinforcing them by numerous levies, he encamped with this new army in an almoſt impregnable ſituation at Kolin, near Prague, in order to haraſs and retard the operations of the ſiege. The king of Pruſſia, impatient of moleſtation, and elated with ſucceſs, formed the raſh reſolution of attacking Mareſchal Daun in his camp; but, after repeated efforts, he was finally repulſed with prodigious ſlaughter. The

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ſiege of Prague was immediately raiſed in conſequence of this diſaſter, and Bohemia evacuated.

The king of Pruſſia now found his proſpects darkening on every ſide. The French army, under the duc de Richelieu, who, with merit very inferior, had ſuperſeded Mareſchal D'Eſtrées in the command, had penetrated into the electorate of Brandenburg, taken Halberſtadt, and laid a great extent of territory under contribution. Mareſchal Apraxin, at the head of one hundred thouſand Ruſſians, had entered ducal Pruſſia, where they committed the moſt enormous exceſſes. Pomerania was menaced with a powerful invaſion from Sweden. The army of the empire, reinforced by a ſtrong body of troops under the prince of Soubize, had entered Luſatia. The victorious Auſtrians, after laying cloſe ſiege to Schweidnitz, the key of Sileſia, ravaged the whole country; general Haddick, at the head of a numerous detachment, carrying terror even to the gates of Berlin. It was at this period that the king of Pruſſia thus expreſſed himſelf, in a letter to his friend the celebrated earl Mareſchal: "What ſay you of this league, which has only the marquis of Brandenburg for its object? the great elector would be ſurpriſed to ſee his grandſon at war with the Ruſſians, the Swedes, the Auſtrians, almoſt all Germany, and a hundred thouſand French auxiliaries. I know not whether it will be diſgrace in me to ſubmit; but I am ſure there will be no glory in vanquiſhing me."

The Ruſſian army, after reducing Memel, and leaving the country behind them a perfect waſte, reached the frontiers of Germany in Auguſt; but were ſoon after unexpectedly attacked in their camp at Norkitten, by Mareſchal Lehwald, who commanded on that ſide: and, though that general was finally obliged to deſiſt, the Ruſſians ſuſtained immenſe loſs, and they ſoon afterwards made a precipitate retreat from the Pruſſian territories. In the mean time the king of Pruſſia, and Mareſchal Keith,

Keith, engaging the combined forces of France and the empire, at Roſbach, Nov. 5 (1757), commanded by Soubize, gained a complete victory, with inconſiderable loſs. But this victory by no means extricated him from his difficulties. The Auſtrians, headed by Mareſchal Daun, had taken Schweidnitz, and laid ſiege to Breſlau, and, on the 22d November, forced, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, the entrenchments of the army under the prince of Bevern, poſted near that place. Breſlaw immediately ſurrendered on capitulation. The king of Pruſſia, on the news of this misfortune, inſtantly marched to the relief of Sileſia; and, coming up with the Auſtrians at Liſſa, the two armies joined battle with inconceivable fury. Notwithſtanding the military conduct and perſonal bravery diſplayed by count Daun, on this occaſion, the Auſtrians were totally defeated with the loſs of twenty thouſand men. Breſlaw opened its gates to the victors; and the whole province, excepting Schweidnitz, fell once more into the hands of the Pruſſians.

The ſudden retreat of the Ruſſians, which was better to be accounted for from political than military cauſes, left Mareſchal Lehwald at liberty to act againſt the Swedes, who had advanced into Pruſſian Pomerania, and were preparing to lay ſiege to Stetin; but on the appearance of the Pruſſian army, they not only evacuated the towns they had captured, but retreated with precipitation into Swediſh Pomerania, where they were followed by Lehwald, who drove them from one poſt to another, till nothing remained to them at the end of the campaign but the city of Stralſund. Such was the ſituation of the king of Pruſſia, when it was determined by the Engliſh miniſter, that the army of obſervation, ſcattered and diſperſed by the convention of Cloiſter-Seven, ſhould reſume their arms; for which the exceſſes committed by

the French troops in the electorate gave them a very fair and plauſible pretext.

Mr. Pitt was not ignorant or inſenſible to the charge of inconſiſtency, which he well knew would be advanced againſt him with all the force of truth, if not of eloquence, on this occaſion: but very powerful reaſons now influenced this miniſter to act in contradiction to that general ſyſtem of policy which he had uniformly avowed and defended. The king of England, retaining all his partiality for German politics, and yielding only to the neceſſity of the times, had Mr. Pitt continued inflexible, would doubtleſs have embraced the firſt favorable opportunity of again diſmiſſing a miniſter, who might not again be able to reinſtate himſelf with the ſame eclat. But a conſideration of ſtill greater weight, it may be preſumed, with Mr. Pitt, was, the viſible change of ſentiment in the nation at large, on this ſubject. The king of Pruſſia, ſince the diſſolution of his political connection with France, and his conſequent alliance with England, had become a very popular character in that country; and this national predilection, after the victory of Roſbach, roſe to enthuſiaſm. That monarch artfully affected to conſider the union of the two great Catholic powers, as a combination to oppreſs and ſubvert the proteſtant intereſt in the empire; and the people of England, to whom the name of popery was ſtill formidable, delighted to applaud and extol this ſceptred infidel, as THE PROTESTANT HERO. Their feelings and principles were, at this criſis, equally intereſted. The national honor was concerned to efface the ſtain of the ignominious convention of Cloiſter-Seven, by which an army had been annihilated.

The ingratitude of the queen of Hungary, whoſe obligations to England were of a nature and magnitude never to be forgotten, was the favorite theme of indignant

nant declamation: whilſt the courage, the talents, the ſucceſſes of the king of Pruſſia excited an involuntary admiration and partiality in the breaſt even of thoſe whoſe better judgment led them to condemn the whole tenor of his political conduct, as proceeding from a ſpirit of lawleſs and unprincipled ambition. It was not poſſible for Mr. Pitt to act with feebleneſs and indeciſion; and, if he reſolved to engage in a Germanic war, which, after the alliance concluded with Pruſſia, ſeemed a ſort of neceſſary appendage to the general ſyſtem *, he would at the ſame time reſolve to proſecute it with vigor and effect. This miniſter diſcerned alſo the advantage which might eventually ariſe to the diſtant and multifarious operations of Great Britain, from fixing the chief attention of France upon an object, which, from local circumſtances, muſt be at all times more intereſting and important to that kingdom than to England. And he ſcrupled not, at a diſtant and ſubſequent period, to affirm, that "AMERICA had been conquered in GERMANY." And, upon the whole, it muſt perhaps be admitted, that the vaſt ſuperiority of force maintained by France in Germany, and which was attended with no real or permanent advantage, was

* "Is it poſſible, ſaid his Pruſſian majeſty, in an expoſtulatory letter addreſſed at this criſis to the king of England, that your majeſty can have ſo little fortitude and conſtancy, as to be diſpirited by a ſmall reverſe of fortune? Are affairs ſo ruinous that they cannot be repaired? I hope your majeſty will conſider the ſtep you have made me hazard, and remember you are the ſole cauſe of thoſe misfortunes that now impend over my head. I ſhould never have abandoned the alliance with France, but for your flattering aſſurances. I do not now repent of the treaty I have concluded with your majeſty; but I expect you will not ingloriouſly leave me at the mercy of my enemies, after having brought upon me all the force of Europe."

the principal cauſe of her invariable inferiority in almoſt all other parts.

The diſbanded army being actually re-aſſembled at Stade, in November 1757, the command of it was conferred upon prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, brother to the reigning duke. This able general immediately put his troops in motion, and, though the ſeaſon was ſo far advanced, he obtained ſeveral advantages over the enemy. Two conſiderable detachments from the French army were entirely defeated by generals Schuylenburg and Zaſtrow, the town and caſtle of Harbourg reduced, and the cities of Lunenburg and Zell recovered; after which the two armies went into winter-quarters. In the courſe of the enſuing ſpring, the famous ſubſidy treaty was concluded between Great Britain and Pruſſia, by which the king of England engaged to pay into the hands of his Pruſſian majeſty the annual ſum of 670,000l. or four millions of German crowns, to be employed at his diſcretion for the good of the common cauſe. This great ſupply enabled that monarch to take the field with redoubled force. In April 1758, he opened the trenches before Schweidnitz, and kept a continual fire upon the town, with a prodigious train of artillery, conſiſting of three hundred pieces of cannon and eighty mortars. The garriſon were obliged to ſurrender upon capitulation, before the end of the month. The Auſtrian army, after the battle of Liſſa, having retired into Bohemia, the king of Pruſſia levied immenſe contributions in Saxony, Pomerania, and Mecklenburg.

About the middle of February 1758, prince Ferdinand put himſelf at the head of the allies, and advancing towards the French army, which retired at his approach, took poſſeſſion of Bremen without oppoſition. The Duc de Richelieu was now ſucceeded in the command

mand by the count de Clermont, who found his troops reduced by the accidents of war, and a variety of hardſhips, to a moſt deplorable condition. Under theſe circumſtances he determined to march back to the Rhine with all expedition. In conſequence of this reſolution, Hanover was evacuated, after having been in the poſſeſſion of the French about ſix months. The Duc de Randan, governor of that city, for his moſt chriſtian majeſty, gained the higheſt honor by the generoſity, rectitude, and humanity of his conduct, for which he received the formal and grateful acknowledgements of the regency of the electorate. Such was the precipitation of the enemy's retreat, and ſo great was their confuſion and embarraſſment, that they were obliged to abandon their ſick and wounded to the mercy of the allies, who alſo took many priſoners, with ſeveral entire magazines of proviſion and forage, which they had not time to deſtroy.

The count de Clermont, having at length reached the farther borders of the Rhine, was ſtill cloſely purſued by prince Ferdinand, who paſſed the river in the beginning of June; and, on the 23d of that month, attacked the French army poſted at Crevelt, the left wing of which, after a warm engagement, was defeated with the loſs of ſix thouſand men; but the right and centre made a ſkilful and regular retreat. The count de Giſors, only ſon of the mareſchal Duc de Belleiſle, and one of the moſt accompliſhed noblemen of the French court, fell in this action. Prince Ferdinand immediately inveſted Duſſeldorp, which ſoon ſurrendered on capitulation. At this period the count de Clermont was ſucceeded by mareſchal de Contades, who being joined by powerful re-inforcements, menaced an attack upon the prince in his turn; and the prince of Yſemburg, who commanded a ſeparate corps on the other ſide the Rhine,

Rhine, being about this time defeated by mareſchal Broglio, his ſerene highneſs thought it neceſſary to repaſs that river, as well in order to ſupport the vanquiſhed army, as to meet the reinforcements from England, commanded by the duke of Marlborough, which were now landed at Embden. Accordingly a bridge was thrown over the river at Griethuyſen, and the allies paſſed it on the tenth of Auguſt without loſs. The ſeaſon was ſo far advanced previous to the junction with the Britiſh forces, that no military operations of importance enſued during the remainder of the campaign between the two grand armies on the Rhine. On the Weſer, the prince of Yſemburg was again worſted by Soubize and Broglio. Prince Ferdinand now entered into winter-quarters at Munſter, and the French again eſtabliſhed themſelves in Weſtphalia.

During theſe tranſactions the king of Pruſſia had his hands fully employed in Saxony and Bohemia. After the reduction of Schweidnitz, he began his march at the head of fifty thouſand men into Moravia, and laid ſiege to Olmutz, the capital of that Marquiſate. Mareſchal Daun immediately advanced to its relief, and, though he did not think proper to hazard a battle, he poſted himſelf in ſo judicious a ſituation, that the Pruſſians found it extremely difficult to carry on their operations, being themſelves kept in perpetual alarm. The garriſon alſo made ſeveral ſucceſsful ſallies, and the Auſtrian general having at length intercepted a great convoy of proviſions and ammunition, the king of Pruſſia found himſelf under an abſolute neceſſity of raiſing the ſiege, which he effected with ſuch ſecreſy and expedition as to have penetrated far into Bohemia, before it was known in the Auſtrian camp that he had loſt ſight of the walls of Olmutz. Mareſchal Daun immediately followed the Pruſſian monarch into Bohemia, but

but found himſelf without an antagoniſt, his majeſty having evacuated that kingdom at the approach of the Ruſſians, who had now entered Brandenburg in two large bodies, commanded by generals Fermor and Browne, and ſpread terror and devaſtation wherever they appeared. A detail of the outrages perpetrated by theſe northern barbarians cannot be read, or related, without horror. In the courſe of this campaign, they plundered and deſtroyed fourteen large towns, and more than one hundred villages. The Pruſſians came up with them at Zorndorf, Auguſt 25 *, when a deſperate engagement enſued. The battle began about noon, and laſted till night, when the Ruſſians gave way in great confuſion. As the Pruſſians gave no quarter, the ſlaughter was terrible. Notwithſtanding this defeat, the Ruſſians continued extremely formidable. Upon the retreat of the king of Pruſſia from Bohemia, mareſchal Daun had advanced towards the Elbe, and, being joined by the prince of Deux Ponts at the head of the army of the empire, threatened to ſurround prince Henry of Pruſſia, who commanded with much reputation and ability for the king his brother in Saxony: but his force was too weak to ſtop the progreſs of the Auſtrians, who took Konigſtein, and eſtabliſhed themſelves in the ſtrong camp at Pirna. Immediately after the battle of Zorndorf, the king began his march to join the prince; but, upon his arrival, found the imperialiſts ſo ſtrongly entrenched, that they could not be attacked with any proſpect of ſucceſs. However, he gained ſome trifling advantages, and diſlodged a corps of troops poſted in the village of Hochkirchen, which was immediately occupied by the Pruſſian army. But, in the middle of the

* A. D. 1758.

night

night of the 14th of October, he was ſuddenly ſurpriſed in his camp by mareſchal Daun; and, after a ſevere and bloody conflict, maintained amidſt all the horrors of darkneſs and confuſion, he was obliged to leave the Auſtrians in poſſeſſion of the field and camp. Mareſchal Keith glorioufly fell in the action. The Pruſſian monarch, on this misfortune, retiring into Sileſia, the Auſtrians inveſted Dreſden. On their appearance, the Pruſſian governor Schmettau ſet fire to the beautiful ſuburbs of that city. The king of Pruſſia, in his anſwer to the Saxon memorial preſented to the Diet on this ſubject, affected to feel the utmoſt diſtreſs and compaſſion at the ſituation of the inhabitants; and lamented, in the moſt pathetic terms, that the neceſſities of war rendered unavoidable a meaſure ſo repugnant to thoſe principles of philanthropy which glowed in his royal breaſt. His Pruſſian majeſty, after putting a ſtop to the progreſs of the Auſtrian arms in Sileſia, and raiſing the ſieges of Neiſſe and Coſel, returned to the relief of Dreſden more formidable than ever, being joined by a ſtrong body of troops, under the generals Dohna and Wedel, the former of whom had been engaged in obſerving the motions of the Ruſſians, who had by this time, after attempting the ſiege of Colberg without ſucceſs, retired beyond the Viſtula. The latter had oppoſed the Swedes in Pomerania. The campaign in that province greatly reſembled that of the laſt year; for the Pruſſian monarch being obliged to withdraw all his forces, excepting thoſe in garriſon, the enemy not only recovered every thing they had loſt, but made bold incurſions into the Pruſſian territories, and even levied contributions within twenty miles of Berlin; but, at the approach of general Wedel, they evacuated their conqueſts with great precipitation, and their poſſeſſions in Pomerania at the end of the campaign were once more

more reduced to the city of Stralſund. The Pruſſian general being now at liberty to co-operate with the king, marched into Saxony, and raiſed the ſiege of Torgau; and, being afterwards joined by general Dohna, proceeded to the relief of Leipſic, which was cloſely inveſted by the army of the empire; and this deſign being happily completed, they effected a junction with the king, and advanced towards Dreſden; but, at their approach, mareſchal Daun thought proper to draw off his forces, and, on the 20th of November, his Pruſſian majeſty entered that city in triumph: and thus ended the campaign of 1758.

The French began the next year with an act of ſingular perfidy, in ſeizing the imperial city of Francfort, which, indeed, was productive of the moſt important advantages, as it commanded the navigation both of the Maine and the Rhine; and here the prince of Soubize eſtabliſhed his head-quarters.

Early in the ſpring, ſeveral officers of rank in the allied army diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their activity and courage in beating up the enemy's quarters, deſtroying their magazines, and defeating various detached corps; particulary the hereditary prince, who, in an action at Meinungen, made three entire battalions priſoners of war: but the general of the allies was diſappointed in his grand deſign of driving the French army from Francfort before the arrival of their expected reinforcements. With this intention, he made, on the 13th of April, an attack on mareſchal Broglio at Bergen; but, being repulſed in three different aſſaults, he was obliged at length to retreat with loſs—the brave but unfortunate prince of Yſemburg fell in the action. In conſequence of this check, prince Ferdinand returning to his former cantonments in Munſter, the French army, now under the command of mareſchal Contades, advanced northwards

northwards and took poſſeſſion of Caſſel and Gottingen, Lipſtadt, Munſter, and Minden. The regency of Hanover, alarmed at the rapidity of their progreſs, ſent off the archives of the electorate, and the moſt valuable effects, to Stade, in order to be ſhipped for England; and his ſerene highneſs, finding himſelf unable to oppoſe them in the field, encamped with his troops in a ſtrong ſituation near Minden, where, on the firſt of Auguſt, the French general reſolved to attack them. This reſolution produced the famous battle of Minden. The French charged with great impetuoſity, but met with ſo warm a reception, that, after a conflict which laſted from dawn of day till noon, they were broken and routed on all ſides, and gave way in extreme diſorder and confuſion. At this critical moment, the prince ſent orders to lord George Sackville, who commanded the cavalry of the right wing, which formed a corps de reſerve, to advance with all poſſible expedition to the attack; and, had theſe orders been properly executed, the diſorderly retreat of the French army muſt have been converted into a precipitate flight; but his lordſhip unfortunately not deeming his highneſs's orders ſufficiently explicit, choſe to apply to the prince in perſon for an explanation; by which means, as well as by repeated orders to halt after the march was begun, ſo much time was loſt that the cavalry did not arrive ſoon enough to be of the leaſt ſervice. The grand allied army, however, without his lordſhip's aſſiſtance, obtained a glorious victory. The Engliſh infantry, in particular, commanded by generals Waldegrave and Kingſley, acquired immortal honor. They not only ſuſtained, with the utmoſt intrepidity, the repeated attacks made upon them, but, charging the enemy in their turn, totally broke and routed the gendarmerie, carabineers, and the choiceſt veterans of the French army. In this action

M. Contades

M. Contades loſt ten thouſand men, together with forty-three pieces of large cannon, a great number of colors and ſtandards, and his own equipage and cabinet, containing papers of the utmoſt conſequence. The garriſon of Minden immediately ſurrendered at diſcretion. The very ſame day, a ſeparate corps, under the Duc de Briſſac, was totally defeated at Coveldt by the hereditary prince. The French army now began its retreat to Caſſel, which they ſoon abandoned, and fell back to Gieſſen, being exceedingly haraſſed during their march, and ſuffering much damage. The city of Munſter was now the only place in Weſtphalia which remained in the hands of the French. After in vain attempting to reduce it by a bombardment and cannonade, the allies inveſted it in form about the beginning of November, when it ſurrendered upon capitulation.

The Duc de Broglio had by this time aſſumed the command of the French army, M. Contades being recalled with ſome marks of diſgrace. The military talents of the new general had, in the courſe of the war, appeared very conſpicuous; but all his efforts to retrieve the ſuperiority loſt by the defeat of his predeceſſor at Minden proved ineffectual, and he would, in all probability, have been driven beyond the Rhine, had not the exigency of the king of Pruſſia's ſituation made it neceſſary to detach the hereditary prince into Saxony with a large body of troops to his aſſiſtance. That heroic monarch had experienced the uſual inconſtancy of fortune in this campaign, though it was opened with great *eclat* by prince Henry, who, forcing a paſſage into Bohemia by way of Peterſwald, deſtroyed the Auſtrian magazines at Leutmeritz, and from thence penetrating into Franconia, drove the army of the empire before him to Nuremberg, laid the country under contribution, and captured upwards of fifteen-hundred priſoners. In the

the mean time, general Wedel had been ſent into Poland to oppoſe the progreſs of the Ruſſians, who had begun their march from the banks of the Viſtula; but, in an obſtinate engagement which took place at Kaye near Zullichau, the Pruſſians were defeated with great loſs. The enemy immediately advanced into Brandenburg, and made themſelves maſters of the important city of Francfort upon the Oder. The king of Pruſſia, extremely alarmed at their ſucceſs, ordered a detachment of ten thouſand men from the grand camp in Sileſia to join the army under general Wedel, who had been alſo reinforced by about the ſame number under general Finck; and the king took upon himſelf the command of the whole, amounting to fifty thouſand men. The Ruſſians, to the number of eighty thouſand, were ſtrongly entrenched at Cunerſdorf; but the king's affairs requiring a deſperate effort, he determined to attack them in their camp, and, about eleven in the morning of the twelfth of Auguſt *, the action was begun with an heavy cannonade; after which the Pruſſians charged the left wing of the Ruſſian army with ſo much vigor, that, after a furious conteſt of ſix hours, they forced the entrenchments with great ſlaughter, and ſeventy pieces of cannon fell into their hands. The battle was now looked upon as decided, and the king, in the firſt tranſports of his joy, diſpatched the following billet to the queen at Berlin: "Madam, we have driven the Ruſſians from their entrenchments—in two hours more expect to hear of a glorious victory." But he ſoon found himſelf fatally miſtaken. The Ruſſian general Soltikoff, exerting all his powers, rallied his troops upon an eminence under cover of a redoubt;

* 1759.

and

and his artillery, which was ſtill greatly ſuperior to that of the Pruſſians, was planted ſo judiciouſly as to render his ſituation almoſt impregnable. However, the king was reſolved to hazard a freſh attack, though againſt the advice of all his generals. His infantry being repulſed in repeated aſſaults, the cavalry were ordered to ſucceed to the charge, but with no better ſucceſs. At length the Ruſſian cavalry, and a body of twelve thouſand Auſtrian horſe, under M. Laudohn, who had joined Soltikoff juſt before the engagement, and had hitherto remained inactive, ſeeing the Pruſſians diſcouraged and exhauſted, fell in amongſt them ſword in hand with ſuch fury, that, in a ſhort time, the Pruſſians were totally routed and diſperſed, notwithſtanding the extraordinary efforts of the king, who expoſed his life in the hotteſt parts of the engagement, had two horſes ſhot under him, and his clothes ſhattered with muſket balls. Nothing but the approach of night could have ſaved him from total ruin. On leaving the field of battle, he diſpatched a ſecond billet to the queen, expreſſed in theſe terms: "Remove from Berlin with the royal family. Let the archives be carried to Potzdam. The town may make conditions with the enemy." This was by far the moſt bloody action that had happened ſince the commencement of hoſtilities. Thirty thouſand men were left dead on the field, of whom two-thirds were Pruſſians. No leſs than twelve generals were killed or wounded in this engagement, and the king of Pruſſia left his whole train of artillery in the hands of the Ruſſians. This, however, was ſoon replaced from the arſenal at Berlin; and by his indefatigable diligence in recruiting his army, which was farther ſtrengthened by the recall of general Kleiſt from Pomerania, he ſoon retrieved his importance.

During

During theſe tranſactions, prince Henry had gained ſeveral advantages over the army of the empire, which, again entering Saxony, had taken poſſeſſion of the city of Dreſden; and alſo over the Auſtrian army co-operating with them under general Haddick. The prince being at length joined by his Pruſſian majeſty, general Finck was detached with a ſtrong body of forces to cut off the retreat of the Auſtrians into Bohemia. But this meaſure proved a moſt unfortunate one; for mareſchal Daun receiving intelligence of general Finck's remote and iſolated poſition, immediately reſolved upon an aſſault: and dividing his forces into four columns, he conducted his march with ſuch ſecrecy and expedition, that the Pruſſians found themſelves entirely ſurrounded before they had entertained the leaſt ſuſpicion of being attacked. In this emergency, they fought with great bravery; but at length, overpowered by numbers and deſtitute of the poſſibility of relief, they were compelled to ſurrender priſoners of war to the amount of 19 battalions and 35 ſquadrons. It was at this critical period that the Pruſſian monarch was joined by the hereditary prince, without whoſe aſſiſtance it was feared he would have found himſelf unable any longer to cope with ſuch numerous and powerful adverſaries. The approach of winter at laſt freed him from any apprehenſions from the Ruſſians, who retired into their old quarters in Poland. As to the Swedes, they had fortunately been extremely inactive during the whole campaign, and, after ſome idle and fruitleſs excurſions, had retreated as uſual into the neighbourhood of Stralſund.

In ſpite of all his loſſes, the king of Pruſſia ſtill kept his ground in Saxony; and even his enemies could not help expreſſing their admiration of that heroic fortitude and invincible perſeverance which ſupported him amidſt all

all the dangers and difficulties of a ſituation, by univerſal acknowledgment, unparalleled in the annals of Europe.

The court of Verſailles had made great preparations for a vigorous campaign in Weſtphalia the enſuing ſummer*. The grand army, under Mareſchal Broglio, was reinforced to the number of one hundred thouſand men; and the count de St. Germaine commanded a ſeparate corps of about thirty thouſand. The hereditary prince, who had rejoined the allied army early in the ſpring (1760), met with a mortifying repulſe at Corbach, in a too adventurous aſſault upon the count de St. Germaine; but he had ſoon an opportunity of retrieving his honor at Exdorf, where, on the ſixteenth of July, he attacked a numerous body of the enemy under general Glaubitz, who were totally defeated after a very warm action, five whole battalions being taken priſoners, including the commander, with their arms, baggage, and artillery.—Elliot's regiment of light-horſe appeared, for the firſt time, in the field upon this occaſion; and, to the aſtoniſhment of the veteran troops, charged five different times, and broke through the enemy at every charge. This advantage was ſucceeded by another of ſtill greater conſequence; for the chevalier Muy, who commanded the reſerve of the French army, amounting to thirty-five thouſand men, being ordered to paſs the Dymel, with a view to cut off the communication of the allied army, then poſted near Caſſel, with Weſtphalia, prince Ferdinand immediately decamped and followed him; and, on the 31ſt of July, made ſo maſterly a diſpoſition of his forces, that M. de Muy, who then lay encamped near the village of Warbourg, found himſelf at once attacked in flank, front, and rear. The French retreated ſo

* 1760.

preci-

precipitately, that the Engliſh infantry could not arrive in time to have any ſhare in the action; but the cavalry, with the marquis of Granby at their head, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the moſt honorable manner. The general of the allies, however, being obliged, in conſequence of this movement, to leave the Landgraviate of Heſſe expoſed to the enemy's attack, Mareſchal Broglio made himſelf maſter of Caſſel, and even reduced Munden, Gottingen, and Elmbeck, in the electorate of Hanover. Notwithſtanding the capture of theſe towns, the ſuperiority acquired by the late victory enabled the Engliſh general to detach the hereditary prince on an expedition to the Lower Rhine, which was by no means productive of the advantages expected from it. The city of Cleves, being weakly garriſoned, made little reſiſtance; but at Weſel, which place he next inveſted, he met with a much warmer reception than he looked for; and his operations alſo being much retarded by heavy rains, he found it impracticable to carry the place before the arrival of a very ſuperior force, detached from the French army, under M. de Caſtries, for its relief. The ſiege being raiſed, an engagement enſued near Campen, in which the prince ſuſtained conſiderable loſs; notwithſtanding which he repaſſed the river in the face of the enemy without moleſtation, and rejoined the main army, which had been ineffectually employed in the blockade of Gottingen; ſoon after which, prince Ferdinand retired into winter-quarters, leaving the enemy in poſſeſſion of the whole country eaſtward of the Weſer.

The king of Pruſſia, on his part, had made ſurpriſing exertions during the whole of this campaign. Whilſt the two grand hoſtile armies remained ſtrongly entrenched in the neighborhood of Dreſden, general Laudohn made great progreſs in the reduction of Sileſia, by defeating a ſtrong body of troops under general Fouquet, and taking

taking the important town of Glatz, which contained an immenſe magazine of military ſtores; after which he inveſted Breſlau. But count Tavenſtein the governor, by making a moſt reſolute defence, gave opportunity to prince Henry of marching to its relief. Such was the expedition of the Pruſſian general, that he marched one hundred and thirty Engliſh miles in five days, and at his approach Laudohn abandoned his enterpriſe, after laying the city in aſhes by a furious cannonade and bombardment, by which he hoped to intimidate the governor to a ſurrender. The king of Pruſſia himſelf, after beſieging in vain the city of Dreſden, marched into Sileſia, whither he was followed by count Daun; and advancing to Lignitz, with a view to effect a junction with the prince, who ſtill remained at Breſlau, he found himſelf in imminent danger of being ſurrounded, Mareſchal Daun being poſted in front, general Laudohn on his left, and general Laſcy on his right; the grand army of the Ruſſians, under Mareſchal Soltikoff, being alſo on their march to co-operate with the Auſtrians. In this emergency he determined rather to give battle than wait the attack; and, after taking the neceſſary precautions for the ſafety of his camp, he made a movement to the left with the greater part of his forces, in the evening of the 14th of Auguſt *, with an intention of ſurpriſing general Laudohn, who, in conſequence of a plan formed by Mareſchal Daun, of which his Pruſſian majeſty had obtained previous intimation, was at the very ſame time on his march to ſurpriſe the king. The two armies met about two o'clock in the morning, between the villages of Pfaffendorff and Lignitz, and after a very ſharp action, which laſted till ſix, the Auſtrians gave ground, and were purſued to a conſiderable diſtance: but Mareſchal Daun,

* 1760.

who, in the execution of his part of the plan, had marched to the right of the Pruſſian camp, finding the tents apparently deſerted, and hearing the remote reverberation of cannon, inſtantly conjectured the nature of the king's manœuvre, and haſtened, but in vain, to the relief of Laudohn, the Auſtrians being previouſly and totally routed.

By this victory the king opening himſelf a paſſage to Breſlau, joined his brother prince Henry at Neumarcke, and they immediately began their march to Schweidnitz, now cloſely blockaded by the Auſtrians, who retired at their approach with ſome precipitation to the mountains of Landſhut. But while the king and prince triumphed in Sileſia, general Hulſen, who had been left in Saxony, found great difficulty in maintaining his ground againſt the imperial army, under the prince of Deux-Ponts. And the Swedes, who had ſurpriſed and killed general Manteuffle in the beginning of the year, now ravaged all Pomerania, without meeting any oppoſition. But the ſufferings of the Pomeranians were inconſiderable in compariſon of thoſe the electorate of Brandenburg, and even the city of Berlin itſelf, experienced: for a grand detachment of the Ruſſian army, under count Czernicheff, penetrating into the marche on one ſide, and a numerous body of Auſtrians, under the generals Laſcy and Brentano, on the other, joined their forces in the neighborhood of that capital, which being of great extent, and imperfectly fortified, could make but a very feeble reſiſtance; the garriſon, to the amount of twelve hundred men, being compelled to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. The Ruſſian and Auſtrian troops no ſooner entered the place than they demanded the immediate payment of eight hundred thouſand guilders, and afterwards exacted a contribution of one million nine hundred thouſand German crowns.

Theſe

Theſe exorbitant impoſitions the inhabitants were obliged to comply with, in order to ſave the city from total deſtruction. However, neither their compliance, nor the united efforts of the Auſtrian and Ruſſian generals, could prevent the Coſſacks, Croats, and other irregular troops, from being guilty of the moſt atrocious exceſſes. Not contented with demoliſhing the public magazines, arſenals, founderies, and hoſpitals, many hundred private houſes were broke into and plundered, during the few days they remained there; for, upon hearing that the king was in full march to the relief of his capital, they abandoned the city, and, taking different routes, laid the whole country deſolate in their retreat. The havoc made by them in the royal caſtle of Charlottenburg would have diſgraced an army of Goths and Vandals. The rich and coſtly furniture of that ſplendid palace was totally deſtroyed; and even the celebrated collection of paintings and ſtatues, made by the cardinal de Polignac, and depoſited in this place, was miſerably deſpoiled and diſfigured. The king was followed by Mareſchal Daun, at the head of one hundred thouſand men. The Pruſſian army, after the junction with general Hulſen, amounted to eighty thouſand. Notwithſtanding this inferiority, the king determined to riſque a battle; and indeed the ſituation of his affairs ſeemed to render ſome deſperate effort neceſſary: for at this time general Laudohn was at the head of a numerous army in Sileſia, and the Ruſſians, who ſtill threatened Breſlau, had actually laid ſiege to Colberg, whilſt the prince of Deux-Ponts, at the head of the army of the empire, being joined by general Laſcy, had made himſelf maſter of Saxony, and the Swedes continued their ravages, uncontrolled, in Pomerania.

On the 3d day of November *, the whole Pruſſian army advanced towards the Auſtrians, advantageouſly poſted at Torgau, upon the banks of the Elbe, their front being fortified with two hundred pieces of cannon; but the king giving his troops to underſtand that they had no alternative but to conquer or die, they charged the enemy with the moſt deſperate intrepidity. The victory, however, remained in ſuſpenſe, till general Zeithen, who had taken a circuit with part of the right wing of the Pruſſians, fell upon the rear of the Auſtrian army, which then began to give way, in ſome diſorder; but Mareſchal Daun receiving a dangerous wound, which obliged him to quit the field, the confuſion became general. The darkneſs of the night, however, favored the retreat of the Auſtrians acroſs the Elbe, over which they had previouſly thrown three bridges of boats, leaving the field of battle dearly purchaſed in the hands of the enemy. In conſequence of this defeat, Mareſchal Daun being under the neceſſity of recalling his detachments, general Laudohn abandoned Landſhut, and his other acquiſitions in Sileſia. The Ruſſians alſo, at the approach of winter, which the king ſtyled his beſt auxiliary, raiſed the ſiege of Colberg, and retired to their cantonments in Poland, the Swedes into their old quarters near Stralſund, and the imperialiſts into Franconia; ſo that the king of Pruſſia found himſelf nearly in the ſame ſituation as at the beginning of the campaign.—That monarch was deſervedly regarded, both by friends and foes, as a prodigy of fortitude, genius, and courage: but his uncommon abilities only ſerved to prolong the war; and the inhabitants of the empire at large, who would have been happy had any deciſive advantage been gained on either ſide, could now ſee no proſpect of an end to their calamities.

* 1760.

Early

Early in the ſpring of 1761, prince Ferdinand opened the campaign with the ſieges of Ziegenhayn and Caſſel, hoping to reduce them before Mareſchal Broglio ſhould receive his reinforcements; but the garriſons making a vigorous reſiſtance, and part of the allied army under the hereditary prince being defeated near Heimbach, his ſerene highneſs found himſelf obliged to withdraw his troops and ſtand upon the defenſive. The army under Mareſchal Broglio being at length recruited, and in a condition to take the field, prince Ferdinand retired behind the Dymel, and eſtabliſhed his head-quarters at Paderborn. The Duc de Broglio having paſſed that river in June, drove general Sporcken from the poſt he occupied on the left ſide, and made himſelf maſter of Warbourg and Paderborn, and compelled prince Ferdinand to retire behind the Lippe. On the 15th July, in the evening, the French army made a furious attack upon the left wing of the allies poſted at Fellinghauſen, commanded by the marquis of Granby; and being repulſed with conſiderable loſs, they renewed the attack at dawn of day with redoubled vigour; but finding that no impreſſion could be made by their repeated efforts, their ardor began to abate: and at length, upon being charged by the marquis, in his turn, with great ſpirit, they abandoned the field in confuſion, leaving behind them four thouſand men dead on the ſpot.

Immediately after this action, the French generals divided their forces; the prince de Soubize retreating to Dortmund, and Mareſchal Broglio marching back to Caſſel. In a ſhort time that general paſſed the Weſer, with an intention of penetrating into the electorate of Hanover; but on the approach of prince Ferdinand he repaſſed that river with the greater part of his army: however, a detachment, under the command of the

count

count de Broglio his brother, by a forced march, took poſſeſſion of Wolfenbuttle, and inveſted Brunſwick; but the hereditary prince, flying to the relief of his father's capital, obliged the beſiegers to relinquiſh this enterpriſe. For the reſt of the campaign Mareſchal Broglio remained inactive in his camp; and prince Ferdinand, not being able to force him to a battle, retired into winter cantonments in the vicinity of Munſter and Oſnaburg.

The ſpring* was far advanced before hoſtilities commenced in Saxony and Sileſia. Warineſs and caution ſeemed to ſucceed to that ſpirit of enterpriſe and activity which had ſo long prevailed. The grand armies, on each ſide, were ſo ſtrongly poſted that neither choſe to riſque the attack. The imperialiſts, attempting to enter Saxony, were repulſed by general Seydlitz; but a numerous body of Ruſſians, commanded by general Romanzoff, could not be prevented from penetrating into Pomerania, in July, and inveſting Colberg by land, whilſt it was blocked up by a powerful ſquadron at ſea. Their main army was ſoon after put in motion, and all the efforts of his Pruſſian majeſty could not prevent its junction with Laudohn; and now the ruin of that monarch was again confidently predicted. If any event could make his affairs apparently more deſperate, it was the loſs of Schweidnitz, which general (now Mareſchal) Laudohn ſurpriſed about this time, by a very brilliant *coup de main*. Prince Henry of Pruſſia, who commanded in Saxony, by an uncommon diſplay of military ſkill, prevented Mareſchal Daun, who was at the head of a much ſuperior army, from obtaining any advantage; that general was even obliged, in an attempt to ſtorm the Pruſſian camp, to retreat with conſiderable loſs, ſoon

* 1761.

after

after which both armies were diſtributed into quarters of cantonment.

The fatal conſequences which had been apprehended from the ſo much dreaded junction of the Auſtrian and Ruſſian armies did not, however, take place; and the Ruſſian general ſoon perceived, or at leaſt aſſerted, the neceſſity of ſeparating, in order to cover his magazines in Poland, which were vigorouſly attacked by a large detachment from the Pruſſian army under general Platen. But the ſiege of Colberg ſtill continued with unabating ardor. General Romanzoff ſeemed even to ſet the winter at defiance, and, in the proſecution of his deſign, gave early proofs of thoſe great talents which have ſince rendered his name ſo illuſtrious. At length the place ſurrendered, Dec. 17, 1761: a conqueſt of ſingular importance, as it enabled the court of St. Peterſburg, at all times, to ſend ſupplies and reinforcements to their armies in Germany by ſea; and the Ruſſian general eſtabliſhed his head quarters in Pomerania, during the winter, with a view of taking the field early in the enſuing ſpring.

The French court, reſolving to exert their utmoſt efforts in Weſtphalia, aſſembled a vaſt army upon the banks of the Weſer (A. D. 1762), under the prince de Soubize and the count d'Eſtrées. Prince Ferdinand lay encamped behind the Dymel, watching their motions and waiting the favorable moment for an attack. At length, on the 24th of June, the enemy being then poſted at Grabenſtein, a diſpoſition was made for that purpoſe; the Prince himſelf croſſing the river to charge in front, and generals Luckner and Sporcken being ſeverally detached to fall upon them at the ſame time in flank and rear. This plan was executed with ſuch ſucceſs, that the French army was thrown into the utmoſt confuſion; and the French generals, after a ſhort reſiſtance,

ance, gave orders for ſtriking the tents, and ſounding a retreat; but ſuch was the impetuoſity of the aſſailants, that in all probability a total defeat would have enſued, had not Monſ. de Stainville, with the moſt heroic gallantry and preſence of mind, collected ſome regiments, conſiſting of the flower of the French infantry, with which he made ſo reſolute a ſtand at the paſs of Wilhelmſthal, that he effectually covered the retreat of the two Mareſchals, who retired without much loſs under the cannon of Caſſel; but the corps under his command was either cut to pieces, or taken priſoners. The marquis of Granby, who commanded the reſerve of the allied army, and was cloſely engaged with Stainville, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a remarkable manner. In conſequence of this defeat, the French generals abandoned Gottingen, after demoliſhing the fortifications, which they had erected at an immenſe expence, and retired to Melſungen, in order to preſerve the communication with Francfort; but on the approach of the prince they thought proper to paſs the Fulda rather than hazard another battle, and the poſt of Melſungen was occupied by the allies.

In the month of July, Monſ. de Stainville, at the head of ſeveral regiments of dragoons fell into an ambuſcade at Merſchen, and his whole corps was totally routed and diſperſed. But the joy occaſioned by thoſe various ſucceſſes was ſomewhat damped by an unfortunate enterpriſe of the hereditary prince, who, prompted by youthful impetuoſity, attacking with very inferior force the prince of Condé on his march from the Lower Rhine to join Soubize, was not only defeated, but ſo dangerouſly wounded that he was rendered incapable of taking any active part in the operations of the remaining part of the campaign. Prince Ferdinand now determined to lay ſiege to Caſſel, and the French generals perceiving his

his intentions, made repeated efforts to throw ſupplies into the place; but were effectually prevented by the vigilance and activity of that able commander. The trenches were opened on the 16th of October, and the operations carried on with ſuch vigor, that, notwithſtanding the place was defended with great bravery by the baron de Dieſbach, the governor, he found himſelf obliged to ſign a capitulation on the 1ſt of November, when the garriſon marched out with all the honors of war.

His ſerene highneſs intended to have cloſed the campaign with the ſiege of Ziegenhayn, which was the only fortreſs in Heſſe now poſſeſſed by the French; but his preparations were interrupted by the ceſſation of arms which took place at this period, immediately on ſigning the preliminaries of peace between Great Britain and France. Thus ended the military career of that celebrated commander, after he had, in the courſe of ſix ſucceſſive and proſperous campaigns, exhibited to the world the moſt convincing proofs of his conſummate knowledge of the art of war.

On the 2d of January 1762, died Elizabeth empreſs of Ruſſia, by which fortunate event the moſt formidable and inveterate of all the enemies of the Pruſſian monarch were converted into friends and allies; for her ſucceſſor Peter III.—a prince of the houſe of Holſtein, and a deſcendant of the eldeſt daughter of Peter the great—entertained ſo enthuſiaſtic an attachment to that hero, that he not only concluded a treaty of peace, but ſent expreſs orders to the Ruſſian commanders to co-operate with him; and a body of troops under count Czernicheff actually joined the Pruſſian army. The Swedes alſo, by his example, were induced to accede to terms of accommodation.

In

In the beginning of May, prince Henry, unexpectedly paſſing the Muldaw, ſurpriſed the left wing of the Auſtrian camp; on which occaſion general Zetzwitz was taken priſoner, with fifteen hundred men: after which the prince made himſelf maſter of Freyburg; and in the beginning of June repulſed the Auſtrians, who made a ſudden attack upon his camp, with great loſs. In Sileſia, the king, now ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of the Ruſſians, as well as by the troops he had withdrawn from Pomerania, advanced towards count Daun, who retired at his approach, and left a free paſſage for the Pruſſians, who inveſted Schweidnitz on the 8th of Auguſt, notwithſtanding the ſeceſſion of the Ruſſians, who, in conſequence of a ſurpriſing revolution that had taken place at the court of St. Peterſburg, were no longer at liberty to co-operate with him. This was no other than the depoſition of the reigning emperor, by his own conſort Catherine of Anhalt, a woman of great talents, courage, and ambition, whoſe juſt reſentment he had fatally provoked. This enterpriſe was conducted with wonderful ſecrecy, reſolution, and diſpatch. The emperor was indulging himſelf in the moſt perfect eaſe and ſecurity, at his country palace of Oranjebaum, when the empreſs ſuddenly appearing before it, at the head of ten thouſand men, ſummoned him to ſurrender. With this demand he inſtantly complied with the moſt abject puſillanimity, though he was accompanied with his Holſtein guards, and in a condition to have made a vigorous defence. He was immediately ſent, under a ſtrong eſcort, to the caſtle of Peterſhoff, where, in a few days, he was carried off by *a ſudden illneſs*. This revolution was not productive of the leaſt diſcontent or diſorder, in any part of that vaſt empire; the follies and vices of the late Czar having rendered him the object of the public contempt and deteſtation. The empreſs Catherine,

therine, though ſhe would not grant any aſſiſtance to the Pruſſian monarch, was by no means inclined to recommence the war, and the Ruſſian armies immediately began their march to their own country.

The ſiege of Schweidnitz was now carried on with great vigor; and a mine being ſprung by the beſiegers on the 8th of October, in conſequence of which great part of the wall was thrown into the foſſe, and preparations made for a general aſſault, count de Guaſco, the governor, thought proper to beat the *chamade*, and he, with the whole garriſon, were made priſoners of war. The Imperial and Auſtrian armies in Saxony had, during the progreſs of the ſiege, defeated a body of troops under general Belling, and retaken Freyburg; but prince Henry, receiving a ſtrong reinforcement from Sileſia, attacked the combined forces under the command of the prince of Stolberg, at break of day, on the 29th of October (1762). The action laſted till two o'clock in the afternoon, when the enemy being entirely routed, abandoned the field of battle, and the town of Freyburg, with the loſs of five thouſand men.

A ſuſpenſion of arms between the courts of Vienna and Berlin taking place ſoon afterwards, this was the laſt ſervice performed in the field by prince Henry, in the courſe of this war, in which he had repeatedly diſplayed all the qualities of an accompliſhed general. And if the monarch was celebrated for his ſpirit of enterpriſe, for a genius fertile in reſources, for his wonderful activity, and for a valor almoſt approaching to deſperation, the prince was not leſs remarkable for his cool intrepidity, his ſagacity, his firmneſs, and vigilance. The ſuſpenſion of arms was quickly followed by the treaty of Hubertſburg, the moſt material article of which imported, that all conqueſts on each ſide ſhould be evacuated, and peace re-eſtabliſhed on the footing of former

former treaties. Such was the iſſue of a war in which two hundred and fifty thouſand lives were ſacrificed, an immenſity of treaſure expended, and the faireſt provinces of the empire reduced to a ſtate of ruin and deſolation.

We are now at liberty to advert to the civil and political tranſactions by which the adminiſtration of Mr. Pitt was diſtinguiſhed. Amongſt the firſt and moſt remarkable of which we may reckon the eſtabliſhment of a national militia: a meaſure highly popular and patriotic; though the plan itſelf, which was calculated for the emergency of the occaſion, and which has never ſuffered any eſſential alteration, muſt be acknowledged extremely crude, imperfect, and defective. Nor is it to be imagined that a comprehenſive and effectual ſyſtem of national defence is to be ſupported at ſo ſmall an expence as the inſignificant ſum allotted for this moſt important purpoſe, and which is ſcarcely equal to the uſual amount of a retaining fee to a German elector. The number of men was originally fixed by the houſe of commons at ſixty-four thouſand, but by the houſe of lords reduced to thirty-two thouſand. The grand and radical defect of this plan is, that a ſervice which ought to be ſought as a privilege is impoſed as an obligation. This national army is abſurdly and arbitrarily ſelected from the general maſs of the community, by lot, or, in other words, by a blind and indiſcriminate compulſion; ſo that it neceſſarily exhibits a bizarre and fortuitous combination of alacrity and ſullenneſs, of imbecility and vigor. Were regular and reaſonable pay allowed to each man, in the intervals of actual ſervice, thoſe who are beſt qualified to ſerve would voluntarily and cheerfully enrol themſelves, and the kingdom would be defended not by the refuſe, but by the choice and flower of the nation. And with proper attention to diſcipline, theſe troops

troops might ſoon be raiſed nearly or entirely to a level with the regulars of the ſervice. In fact, the ſtanding army of Pruſſia is at this day no other than a well-regulated national militia, adapted to the circumſtances of that country. And were a national militia correſponding to the circumſtances of this kingdom once eſtabliſhed, the far greater part of the preſent formidable and unconſtitutional ſtanding army might be ſafely diſbanded. And though it is remote from the province of hiſtory to deſcend to ſpecific or minute calculation, it might be eaſily demonſtrated, that the expence of ſuch an eſtabliſhment would not equal the amount of the ſums annually voted by parliament, for maintaining poſſeſſion of the barren rock of Gibraltar, the unjuſt retention of which, notwithſtanding the plain dictates of common ſenſe, and the dear-bought experience of Calais, Dunkirk, Port Mahon, and Tangier, we ſtill continue with credulous enthuſiaſm to believe eſſential to the national proſperity and welfare.

In the ſummer of 1757, the empreſs-Queen recalled her miniſter, count Coloredo, from London; and at the ſame time notified to Mr. Keith, the Engliſh miniſter at Vienna, her determination to break off all correſpondence with the king of England, declaring that ſhe could not ſee with indifference his Britannic majeſty enter into an alliance with her enemy the king of Pruſſia, inſtead of aſſiſting her with the ſuccors due by the moſt ſolemn treaties.

The French intereſt in Holland prevailing at this time in an alarming degree, Sir Joſeph Yorke, the Engliſh ambaſſador at the Hague, was ordered to repreſent to the ſtates-general the aſtoniſhment of the king of England at the permiſſion given by their high mightineſſes for the free paſſage of a large train of warlike imple-

ment

ments and ſtores through Namur and Maeſtricht, for the uſe of the French army; and ſtill more at their tame acquieſcence in the ſurrender of Oſtend and Nieuport, by the empreſs-queen, to the French, in direct contravention of the barrier treaty, and of the treaty of Utrecht, which expreſsly declare, that no fortreſs, town, or territory of the Auſtrian Low Countries ſhall be ceded or transferred to the crown of France, upon any pretext whatever. The ſtates, however, were not inclined to deviate from their profeſſed ſyſtem of neutrality; and they alleged, without reſerve or heſitation, their inability to prevent theſe infractions of former treaties, as ſufficiently excuſing, or rather juſtifying their connivance at them.

At the meeting of parliament, December 1757, the king, in his ſpeech from the throne, mentioned the late happy ſucceſſes in Germany, and recommended "that his good brother and ally, the king of Pruſſia, might be aſſiſted in ſuch a manner as his magnanimity and zeal for the common cauſe appeared to deſerve; expreſſing his firm reliance on the zeal of his faithful commons for the ſupport of the *Proteſtant religion*, and of the liberties of Europe." The anſwer of the commons was in the higheſt degree dutiful and loyal; and the ſupplies, amounting to conſiderably more than ten millions, voted almoſt without the formality of a debate—Sir Francis Daſhwood only venturing to expreſs his total diſſent from, and diſapprobation of, the meaſure now adopted*. How the proteſtant religion was concerned in the diſputes

* In a debate of the houſe of commons ſeveral years ſubſequent to this period, Mr Pitt declared, that every ſeſſion during his adminiſtration he called out, "Has any body any objection to the German war? Nobody would object to it, one gentleman only excepted, ſince removed

putes of the prefent belligerent powers, it feemed, in particular, far beyond the reach of men of *common underſtandings* to comprehend. It was notorious that Saxony, long accounted the firſt proteſtant power in Germany, was ruined and deſolated by the *Proteſtant Hero*; that the Swedes, who have ever diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their zeal in defence of the proteſtant faith, were themſelves parties in this pretended confederacy againſt proteſtantiſm; that Denmark and Holland diſcovered no particular ſymptoms of alarm on this occaſion, though as little inclined to advance the intereſts, or extend the power, of popery, as Great Britain itſelf.

The reſentment of Holland was, at this period, inflamed in a very high degree againſt England, in conſequence of the numerous ſeizures made by the Engliſh of Dutch veſſels, employed in carrying naval ſtores and tranſporting merchandize, the produce of the French iſlands, to Europe. A memorial, to which was affixed a prodigious number of commercial ſignatures of the firſt conſequence, was preſented to the ſtates general, in which their high mightineſſes are ſtrongly urged to protect the commerce and navigation of the republic by an armed force. The king of England, on the other hand, declared, by his ambaſſador, that he would not

moved to the upper houſe by ſucceſſion to an ancient barony (Sir Francis Daſhwood, now lord Le Deſpencer); he told me he did not like a German war; I honored the man for it, and was ſorry when he was turned out of his poſt." On another occaſion, he affirmed, "that it was impoſſible, after the treaties made with the king of Pruſſia, to leave that monarch to the mercy of his enemies; and that he entered into office with the German war tied like a mill-ſtone about his neck."

ſuffer

ſuffer an illicit and injurious trade to be carried on under the ſpecious pretext of neutrality. And the wiſdom and moderation of the princeſs Governante ſcarcely ſufficed to prevent an open rupture. The death of that princeſs, which took place at the beginning of the enſuing year, was the ſubject of real and equal regret to both nations.

In the month of Auguſt 1758, a decree of the aulic council was publiſhed, enjoining all directories of circles, imperial cities, &c. to tranſmit to Vienna an exact account of thoſe who had diſobeyed the *avocatoria* of the empire, and adhered to the REBELLION raiſed by the elector of Brandenburg, that their revenues might be ſequeſtered, and themſelves puniſhed in their honors, perſons, and effects. The king of England, knowing himſelf to be chiefly aimed at in this decree, preſented by his miniſter baron Gemmingen, a ſpirited memorial to the diet of the empire, enumerating the important ſervices which he had rendered to the houſe of Auſtria, for which he had even expoſed his life in the field of battle; in return for which the empreſs-queen had formed an alliance with France for the invaſion of his electorate: and the duke of Cumberland, who had been wounded at Dettingen in the cauſe of her imperial majeſty, was compelled to fight at Haſtenbeck againſt the troops of that princeſs, in defence of his father's dominions; that the king of England was threatened with the ban of the empire for not complying with the reſolutions of the Diet for aſſembling an army, although the conduct of the imperial court rendered it indiſpenſable to his ſafety to retain his troops for the protection of his ſubjects. He acknowledged that, in quality of king of England, and for juſt reaſons, he had ſent over Engliſh troops to Germany, and had taken poſſeſſion of Embden; for which he was accountable to

no

no power upon earth. And he expreſſed his hope that the Diet would, upon deliberate advice, not only exhort the emperor to recall or annul his recent mandates, but inſtitute ſuch proceedings againſt the empreſs-queen, in the quality of arch-ducheſs of Auſtria, as ſhe wiſhed to enforce againſt the king of England, as elector of Hanover." The original aggreſſion of the laws of the empire reſted, after all, ſolely and plainly with the king of Pruſſia, who was as clearly ſupported and defended in his contumacy by the king of England; and if theſe two monarchs, as members of the Germanic body, were at liberty to diſobey and contemn the decrees of the Diet, the Germanic conſtitution was no more; no common centre of union remained, by which that vaſt body could exerciſe its ſovereign authority, or even demonſtrate its political exiſtence. The Diet, however, wiſely choſe to refrain, in preſent circumſtances, from the aſſumption of a prerogative which they were in no condition to enforce; and the numberleſs memorials, and counter memorials, publiſhed in the courſe of this war, ſerved to little other purpoſe than to ſhew the extraordinary degree of animoſity and rancor by which the belligerent powers were univerſally actuated.

In the courſe of this year died the celebrated Proſper Lambertini, who, on his elevation to the Papal chair, A. D. 1740, aſſumed the name of Benedict XIV. The good ſenſe, candor, and moderation of this amiable Pontiff made him ſcarcely leſs the ſubject of eſteem and veneration in the proteſtant than the catholic ſtates of Europe. But, unfortunately, his political influence was too weak to enable him to compoſe thoſe differences by which Chriſtendom had been ſo long diſgraced and deſolated. He was ſucceeded in the Papacy by Cardinal Rezzonico, biſhop of Padua, who took the name of

Clement XIII. And the new Pope found an early opportunity of displaying his weakness and bigotry, by sending a consecrated banner, accompanied with his apostolic benediction, to the Austrian general count Daun. A recent attempt, scarcely worthy of historic notice, as neither arising from any political cause, nor producing any political effect, had been made on the life of the king of France, by an insane fanatic of the name of Damien, who, in consequence of this crime, expired in torments; the national sufferance, and much more the national approval, of which, in the view of reason and humanity, degraded the character of the most polished and civilized country on the globe to a temporary level with that of the Onondagas and Cherokees. In the autumn of the present year, a royal assassination in all its circumstances much more extraordinary and interesting, the full extent and mysterious nature of which have never been perfectly developed, was attempted on the person of his most faithful majesty, who passing, September 3, in his carriage over a solitary spot near the palace of Belem, was fired at and dangerously wounded by two villains on horseback, one of whom made his escape; the other being put to the question, impeached the Duc d'Aveiro, president of the palace, the marquis and marchioness of Tavora, the count d'Atouguia, and several other persons of the highest rank, as parties in this conspiracy, who were accordingly tried, convicted, and suffered death on the scaffold. It appearing from undoubted evidence, that the Jesuits, who had been for some time past in disgrace at court, were the principal instigators to this wicked attempt, the effects and property of the whole order were sequestered, and a decree of banishment finally issued against them.

The

The parliament of England being convened in November (1758), the lord keeper Henley made a ſpeech to both houſes, by command of his majeſty, in which the ſucceſſes of the year were oſtentatiouſly enumerated; and the commons were anew exhorted vigorouſly to ſupport the king of Pruſſia, and the reſt of his majeſty's allies. The expence incurred by England at this time for the payment of ſubſidies, and the maintenance of armies in Germany alone, exceeded three millions ſterling; which immenſe ſum, as well as all the other ſupplies demanded by the miniſter, were now voted almoſt as a matter of courſe. Towards the termination of the ſeſſion, May 1759, the king informed the two houſes, by meſſages delivered by lord Holderneſs and Mr. Pitt, the two ſecretaries of ſtate, that he had received authentic advice of preparations making by the French court with a deſign to invade Great Britain: and both houſes, in return, aſſured his majeſty of their determination to ſupport, with their lives and fortunes, his perſon and government againſt all attempts whatever. Directions alſo were iſſued to the lords lieutenants of the reſpective counties of the kingdom to uſe their utmoſt diligence and attention in executing the ſeveral acts of parliament made for the better ordering the militia. This alarm, however, after the defeat of the French fleet by admiral Hawke, entirely ſubſided.

In the month of Auguſt, an event of great political importance took place in the death of Ferdinand, king of Spain, who, in conſequence of the loſs of the queen his conſort, had for many months, renounced all company, neglected all buſineſs, and indulged in the utmoſt exceſſes of ſorrow, under the weight of which he languiſhed, without relief or intermiſſion, to the final termination of his life. He was ſucceeded by his brother Don Carlos, king of the Sicilies—a prince by no means

ſo favorably diſpoſed as his predeceſſor to the Engliſh nation; and who ſtill harbored a deep reſentment of the inſult offered to his crown and dignity in the former war, by the threatened bombardment of his capital, and the humiliating treaty of neutrality to which he was compelled to accede. This monarch, previous to his departure from Naples, by a ſolemn edict, reſigned the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily to his younger ſon, Don Ferdinand, in contravention and contempt of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which expreſsly declares, that, if the infant Don Carlos ſhall ſucceed to the throne of Spain, the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guaſtalla ſhall revert to the houſe of Auſtria, and the infant Don Philip ſhall ſucceed to the throne of the Sicilies. But to this article Don Carlos had never acceded; and the court of Vienna was not at this time in a ſituation to enforce the obſervance of it.

In November 1759, the parliament was again opened by commiſſion, and the lord keeper again enlarged on the ſignal ſucceſſes of his majeſty's arms by ſea and land; particularly diſtinguiſhing the reduction of Quebec and the victory of Minden—declaring, however, by the command of his ſovereign, "that, as his majeſty entered not into this war from views of ambition, he did not wiſh to continue it from motives of reſentment; that the deſire of his majeſty's heart was to ſee a ſtop put to the effuſion of Chriſtian blood, whenever juſt and honorable terms of peace could be obtained." It was conſolatory to the humane and diſpaſſionate part of the nation, after the ſacrifice of ſuch countleſs hecatombs of human victims, and the expenditure of ſo many millions of treaſure, at length to hear the ſound of peace. But the majority, intoxicated with ideas of conqueſt, were far from wiſhing the ſpeedy termination of the war; and from the enormous ſupplies granted by parliament,

parliament, amounting this year to no leſs than fifteen millions, it ſeemed as if the nation, eager for its own impoveriſhment and ruin, was willing to purchaſe glory with bread.

In the courſe of this ſeſſion, an effort was made to render efficient the famous parliamentary qualification act of queen Anne, by the introduction of a bill, which, with ſome modifications, eventually paſſed into a law. By virtue of the new act, it became neceſſary for every perſon elected a member of the houſe of commons, to deliver in a paper or ſchedule to the ſpeaker of the houſe, ſpecifying the lands, tenements, and hereditaments, whereby he makes out his qualification. But this regulation ſerved only to increaſe in ſome degree the trouble, and not at all to diminiſh the frequency of evaſion. The truth is, that the act, which was originally deſigned to promote the intereſts of a faction, is ſo contrary to the ſenſe and to the intereſt of the nation, that it neither can nor ought to be enforced. Perfect freedom of choice on the part of the people is the only rational ſecurity for the integrity of the repreſentative body; and to impoſe any arbitrary reſtrictions of this nature, by which they might be eventually deprived of the ſervices of ſome of the moſt honeſt and able members of the community, is an unconſtitutional violation of their juſt and impreſcriptible rights *.

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* This act of queen Anne, originally framed to ſtrengthen the intereſt of the Tory faction, can be juſtified on no principle of reaſon or equity; for there is no ground to ſuppoſe that integrity bears any determinate *ratio* to property. Men in higher walks of life are far from being, on that account, the moſt independent. Having a ſpecific rank to ſupport, and dreading the leaſt degradation from it, they have always

The ſubject which at this time chiefly engroſſed the public attention, was the court-martial held upon lord George Sackville, commander of the Britiſh forces in Germany, in conſequence of the charge brought againſt him of diſobeying the repeated orders of Prince Ferdinand, to advance with the cavalry, in order to ſuſtain the infantry, and to attack the enemy, already broken, at the memorable battle of Minden. From this charge his lordſhip was not able to clear himſelf to the ſatisfaction of the public. For, though it appeared that there were

ways much for themſelves and families to aſk—admitting that they cheriſh no ambitious ideas of advancement—at leaſt to maintain their accuſtomod level in ſociety. Whereas, perſons in leſs elevated ſtations, of inferior fortune, and different habits, more eaſily learn to moderate their deſires, and not unfrequently entertain a real indifference for thoſe honors and riches which it is the lot of ſo few to poſſeſs——

" And which to leave's a thouſand fold more bitter
Than ſweet at firſt t' acquire."

It is true, that abſolute indigence is apparently incompatible with independence: but there is little danger that perſons of this deſcription ſhould be returned members to parliament, except the virtue of the individual ſhould in ſome rare inſtance be deemed proof againſt all temptation, as in the caſe of the famous Andrew Marvel, who is ſaid, after refuſing a treaſury warrant for a thouſand pounds, to have been under the neceſſity of applying to a friend for the loan of a guinea.

" Gemmas, marmor, ebur, Tyrrhena ſigilla, tabellas,
Argentum, veſtes Gaetulo murice tinctas
Sunt qui non habeant; eſt qui non curat habere."

HOR.

" Gold, ſilver, ivory, vaſes, ſculptur'd high,
Paint, marble, gems, and robes of Tyrian dye,
There are who have not—and thank Heaven there are,
Who, if they have not, think not worth their care."

POPE.

were in the orders tranſmitted by the different Aides-du-camp ſome degree of variation, perhaps of inconſiſtency, it was univerſally acknowledged that the neceſſity of bringing the cavalry into *immediate action* was ſtrongly and repeatedly urged to his lordſhip. Colonel Fitzroy *, in particular, after ſtating the circumſtances which occaſioned the order, added, with great gallantry, "that it was a glorious opportunity for the Engliſh to diſtinguiſh themſelves, and that his lordſhip, by leading them on, would gain immortal honor." Admitting, then, the commands of his ſerene highneſs to be in any reſpect doubtful, his lordſhip might ſurely have been guided in the interpretation of them by his own diſcretion; and nothing could be more abſurd or unpardonable than to waſte thoſe irreparable moments in coldly ſeeking an explanation of orders, which ought to have been occupied in the vigorous execution of them. In concluſion, the court-martial adjudged that lord George Sackville was guilty of diſobeying the orders of prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, his commander—declaring him, for this offence, incapable of ſerving his majeſty in any military capacity whatſoever. This ſentence was confirmed by the king, who, as a farther mark of his reſentment, called in council for the council-book, and ordered the name of lord George Sackville to be ſtruck out of the liſt of privy counſellors. Such was the laſt public act of this monarch's reign and life: for, on Saturday the 25th of October 1760, being at the palace of Kenſington, where he commonly reſided, he was ſuddenly ſeized with an apoplectic fit, ſoon after his riſing in uſual health in the morning, Recovering his ſenſes after a ſhort interval, he deſired, with a faint voice, that his daughter the princeſs Amelia might be

* Now lord Southampton.

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ſent for; but, before her arrival, he expired, in the ſeventy-ſeventh year of his age, and the thirty-fourth of his reign. During this long period, he had experienced many viciſſitudes of fortune; but he lived to ſee himſelf the moſt ſucceſsful of all the Engliſh monarchs. And, after the dark and lowering aſpect which his political horizon occaſionally exhibited, his ſun ſet at laſt in a golden cloud.

The character of this monarch it is not eaſy either to miſtake or to miſrepreſent. Endowed by nature with an underſtanding by no means comprehenſive, he had taken little pains to improve and expand his original powers by intellectual cultivation. Equally a ſtranger to learning and the arts, he ſaw the rapid increaſe of both under his reign, without contributing in the remoteſt degree to accelerate that progreſſion by any mode of encouragement, or even beſtowing, probably, a ſingle thought on the means of their advancement. Inheriting all the political prejudices of his father—prejudices originating in a partiality natural and pardonable—he was never able to extend his views beyond the adjuſtment of the Germanic balance of power; and reſting with unſuſpicious ſatisfaction in that ſyſtem, into which he had been early initiated, he never roſe even to the conception of that ſimple, dignified, and impartial conduct, which it is equally the honor and intereſt of Great Britain to maintain in all the complicated conteſts of the continental ſtates. It is curious to remark, that the grand objects of the two continental wars of this reign were diametrically oppoſite: in the firſt, England fought the aggrandizement—in the ſecond, the abaſement of the houſe of Auſtria. And in what mode the conſequent advancement of Pruſſia, at an expence to England ſo enormous, to the rank of a primary power in Europe, has contributed to the eſtabliſhment or preſervation of that politi-

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cal balance upon the accurate poize of which many have affirmed, and perhaps ſome have believed, that the ſalvation of England depends, yet remains to be explained. In the internal government of his kingdoms, this monarch appears, however, to much greater advantage than in the contemplation of his ſyſtem of foreign politics. Though many improper conceſſions were made by the parliament to the crown during the courſe of this reign, it muſt be acknowledged, that no violation of the eſtabliſhed laws or liberties of the kingdom can be imputed to the monarch. The general principles of his adminiſtration, both civil and religious, were liberal and juſt. Thoſe penal ſtatutes which form the diſgrace of our judicial code, were, in his reign, meliorated, and virtually ſuſpended, by the ſuperior mildneſs and equity of the executive power. And it was a well-known and memorable declaration of this beneficent monarch, "that, during his reign, there ſhould be no perſecution for conſcience ſake." Though ſubject to occaſional ſallies of paſſion, his diſpoſition was naturally generous and eaſily placable. On various occaſions, he had given ſignal demonſtrations of perſonal bravery; nor did the general tenor of his conduct exhibit proofs leſs ſtriking of his rectitude and integrity: and, if he cannot be ranked amongſt the greateſt, he is at leaſt entitled to be claſſed with the moſt reſpectable princes of the age in which he lived, and his memory is deſervedly held in national eſteem and veneration.

The general ſtate of literature and the arts during this reign, it may be thought improper to paſs over without a ſpecific, however tranſient, mention. In the early part of it, a ſhadow of royal protection and encouragement diſplayed itſelf in the countenance given by queen Caroline—a princeſs of an excellent underſtanding and much liberality of ſentiment—to ſeveral learned men,

men, with whom ſhe loved freely to converſe; particularly with Dr. Samuel Clarke, ſo famous for his theological and metaphyſical writings; and whoſe ſpeculative opinions, in their full extent, the queen was believed to have deeply imbibed. Hoadley, the friend of this illuſtrious philoſopher, was advanced, through a long ſeries of promotions, to the biſhopric of Wincheſter; and Dr. Clarke himſelf was, it is ſaid, deſtined, had not his death prematurely and unexpectedly intervened, to the archbiſhopric of Canterbury. Theſe great and celebrated eccleſiaſtics, the brighteſt ornaments and luminaries of the Engliſh church, were anxiouſly ſolicitous to advance its true intereſt, as well as honor, by effecting a farther reform, both of its diſcipline and doctrine, on the genuine principles of proteſtantiſm. But the political caution, and not the religious bigotry, of the governing powers unhappily precluded the attempt.

The prince of Wales alſo, at a ſubſequent period, ſhewed a diſpoſition, though reſtrained in the ability, to become a munificent patron of literature: and Mallet, Thomſon, and Young, are ſaid to have been particularly diſtinguiſhed by his bounty. The *Seaſons*, and the *Night Thoughts*, are poems of high and deſerved celebrity. But the moſt truly poetical genius of this reign was unqueſtionably Gray, had his powers been fully expanded by the ſunſhine of popular and courtly encouragement. The *Bard* and *Church-yard Elegy* are maſter-pieces of ſublime enthuſiaſm, and plaintive elegance. In the drama no tragedies appeared which could ſtand even a momentary competition with the admired and pathetic productions of Otway, or even the elegant though leſs impaſſioned performances of Rowe. In comedy, Congreve, Vanburgh, and Farquhar *yet* remained unrivalled. And of the far greater part of the numerous dramatic pieces of this period, it may be affirmed in the words of Dryden,

Dryden, " that the tragic muſe gave ſmiles, the comic ſleep."

In one ſpecies of literary compoſition, however, and that of the higheſt importance, the reign of George II. may boaſt, a decided and indiſputable ſuperiority; and in the province of hiſtory, the names of Hume and Robertſon will ever claim the higheſt rank of eminence. Taking it for all in all, Hume's hiſtory of England may perhaps be juſtly regarded as the greateſt effort of hiſtoric genius which the world ever ſaw. His philoſophic impartiality, approaching indeed occaſionally the confines of indifference, his profound ſagacity, his diligence of reſearch, his felicity of ſelection and arrangement, the dignified elegance of his ſtyle, which yet rarely aſpires to elevation or energy—all combine to ſtamp upon this work the characteriſtics of high and indiſputable excellence. With ſuch happineſs, and with touches ſo maſterly, are the principal perſonages of his hiſtory delineated, that a more clear and perfect idea is frequently conveyed by Mr. Hume, in a few lines, than we are able to derive from the elaborate amplifications of lord Clarendon, whoſe hiſtorical portraits, though drawn certainly with great accuracy and cloſeneſs of obſervation, are finiſhed rather in the ſtyle of the Flemiſh than the Roman ſchool. With reſpect to the Hiſtorian of Charles V. it is ſufficient to ſay, that he has been often highly, but never too highly praiſed. From a rude and indigeſted chaos of matter he has ſelected thoſe facts which are truly and permanently intereſting, and which alone it imports poſterity to know, connecting them with exquiſite ſkill, and adorning his narration with all the graces of a ſimple, pure, and luminous diction, wholly free from thoſe meretricious ornaments, that tumid pomp, and gaudy diſplay of eloquence, by which later writers have

have been unfortunately ambitious to acquire reputation.

In metaphyſics, Hartley eſtabliſhed a ſyſtem admirable for its ſimplicity, for the extent and importance of its practical application, and its perfect correſpondence with all the actual phænomena of human nature, upon the firm and immovable foundation of Locke. This ſyſtem, now riſing into general regard and eſtimation, has been violently attacked by ſome ingenious writers, whoſe darts have "faintly tinkled on the brazen ſhield" of this great philoſopher, the theory of whom has been moſt ably vindicated by the pen of the celebrated Prieſtley, whoſe name, at once the glory and the reproach of the Engliſh nation, is revered in every part of the globe where the light of ſcience has penetrated; and whoſe peculiar praiſe and honor it is, long to have been the object of the malignant animoſity, and, as far as the ſpirit of the times would permit of the perſecution of the "holy Vandals" of the age.

In philology, morals, and criticiſm, Bentley, Warburton, and more recently Johnſon, ſhone with diſtinguiſhed luſtre.

In theology, amidſt an hoſt of great and reſpectable names, it cannot be deemed invidious to beſtow the higheſt applauſe on that of Lardner, who, unaſſiſted by the advantages, and unadorned by the honors of our national ſeminaries of education, compoſed a ſtupendous work on the credibility of chriſtianity, no leſs to be admired for its candor, impartiality, and ſagacious ſpirit of reſearch, than its amazing extent and depth of erudition; and it is not without reaſon that he has been ſtyled, by a juſtly celebrated writer, who cannot be ſuſpected of partiality either to the cauſe or the advocate, "the prince of modern divines." Foſter, Leland, Chandler, Abernethy, Duchal, and many other eminent names, not of the

the eſtabliſhed church, maintained alſo, with diſtinguiſhed honor to themſelves, by their various learned theological and philoſophical writings, at once the reputation of their ſeparate communion, and the authority of that common faith which all denominations of chriſtians are equally concerned to ſupport. In the pale of the eſtabliſhment, the venerable Lowth diſtinguiſhed himſelf above all his cotemporaries, by adorning the profoundeſt diſquiſitions in ſacred literature with all the charms of claſſic elegance. And the excellent Jortin, in the juſtneſs and comprehenſion of his views, the clearneſs and accuracy of his reaſonings attained to high, perhaps unrivalled pre-eminence. His *remarks on eccleſiaſtical hiſtory* abound with the moſt candid and liberal ſentiments; and his *life of Eraſmus* diſcovers a mind perfectly congenial with that of the illuſtrious ſcholar whoſe portrait he has delineated—the ſame ingenuous ſimplicity, the ſame urbanity, wit, and poliſhed keenneſs of ſatire—in rectitude equal, in fortitude ſuperior. Had Eraſmus flouriſhed in our days, Jortin would ſurely have been his favorite and choſen friend; for we know that his admired and beloved Colet was but the Jortin of a former age. For the famous and incomparable preface prefixed to his *remarks*, he is ſaid to have been menaced by the high church bigots of his time with a legal proſecution; but this threat was rendered ineffectual by the moderation of the governors of the church at that period, and particularly of Herring, archbiſhop of Canterbury—a prelate eminent for diſcernment, candor, and benignity, and who had declared to Dr. Jortin that he would be to him what Warham had been to Eraſmus. It was, however, late in life before the extraordinary merits of Jortin attracted that attention to which they were ſo well intitled: and he himſelf truly and feelingly ſpeaks of the patronage ſaid to be afforded to literature by men of rank

rank and fortune, as " a Mileſian fable and a fairy tale."

Before the concluſion of this reign, Reynolds in painting, in ſculpture Wilton, began to riſe into fame: and the exquiſite muſical compoſitions of Handel were vigorouſly emulated by Arne and Boyce. But to whatever degree of perfection ſcience, literature, and the arts, aroſe, during even its laſt ſplendid and memorable period, the ſole and excluſive honor of patronage appertains—not to the court—nor to any Mæcenas or Dorſet of the age—not to the encouragement derived from academical honors or premiums—but to the taſte, diſcernment, and generoſity of the NATION.

FINIS.

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